000 FAMILY AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE NAMBIKWARA INDIANS

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[Translated from the French by Eileen Sittler]

[Courtesy of State University of Iowa]

Originally published under the title
"La Vie Familiale et Sociale des Indiens Nambikwara"

Paris: Société des Américanistes, 1948

[title page]

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INTRODUCTION

101 The name of the Nambikwara appears in ethnological literature from the eighteenth century on; but it seems useless here for us to [114] compile references reduced to a more or less distorted citation of the tribal name and to the approximate indication of the territory occupied by the group. In fact, with the exception of the name, which seems to be a surname of Tupi (1) origin, the Nambikwara remained practically unknown until the time of their discovery in 1907, by General (then Colonel) Candidio Mariano da Silva Rondon. From this date on, we are directly or indirectly indebted to the Rondon Commission for all the information available concerning them.

000 It is known that in 1907 Colonel Rondon was given a commission by the Brazilian government to explore the territories which extend approximately 1, 500 kilometers from the village of Diamantino to the Madeira River. This was to precede the construction of a strategic telegraph line connecting the federal capital with the frontier outposts of the northwest. In the course of a first expedition begun in 1907, Rondon succeeded in reaching the Juruena, principal source of the Tapajoz, unknown up to that time. This discovery took place the twentieth of October. A second expedition, begun in 1908, permitted the opening of a land route toward the Madeira. This was the first objective of the mission entrusted to General Rondon which 177 was realized on December 25, 1909. It was during these two expeditions that contact was established for the first time with the Nambikwara.

The laying of the telegraph line continued through the Indian territories from 1909 to about 1915. During this period and since, there have been regular, although intermittent, relations between the Indians and the members of the telegraph commission—construction

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1. Cf. below, page 129, footnote 1.

177 officers, soldiers /2/ and workmen. These contacts have continued since the completion of the work. They are always intermittent and are made especially by the stations whose service is assured by the Paressi Indians educated in care of the Commission.

114 Leaving aside several books and articles of anecdotal character written by certain collaborators of General Rondon, we are limited to the following works as the only sources of information concerning the Nambikwara Indians. First, the *Rapport ethnologique*, by General Rondon himself, and printed in Rio de Janeiro as one of the numerous official publications of the Commission under No. 2, 1911. Next must be cited the lectures of the same author which followed the Roosevelt-Rondon expedition to the Rio da Duvida (Portuguese edition: *Missão Rondon*, Rio de Janeiro, 1916; English edition: *Lectures delivered by General Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon*, etc., Commissão Rondon, Publication No. 43). Recourse should also be made to an article by a young officer of the staff of General Rondon, Antonio Pyreneus de Souza ("Notas sobre os costumes dos Indios Nambikwaras," *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Vol. 12, 1920) and to the information scattered in the diverse reports of the Commission, published during and after the exploratory work, of which the most useful is doubtless that of Carnier (*Rapport géologique et ethnologique*, No. 23, Annexe 5). Some information will be found in the book of Theodore Roosevelt (*Through the Brazilian Wilderness*, Works, Vol. 6) and a short vocabulary in Max Schmidt ("Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungsreise in Matto Grosso," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. 40, 1929).

In 1912, the Director of the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, Dr. Edgar Roquette Pinto, was authorized to join the Rondon Commission in the field to receive, examine, and report to the Museum the ethnographic collections made since the beginning of the work. This trip must have given Dr. Roquette Pinto the occasion to write and publish several articles and a book. Certainly the most important of the former is his communication to the International Congress of Americanists held in London in 1912 (*Os Indios Nambikwara do Brasil Central*); then, his communication to the Pan-American Congress at Washington (1917) under the title, *Os Indios da Serra do Norte*. The book, *Rondonia* (last edition: Cia Editora Nacional, Sao-Paulo, 1935) is almost entirely dedicated to the Nambikwara and represents our best source of information.

114 However, all the works mentioned in the preceding paragraphs contain various linguistic data—generally limited to mediocre vocabularies—and a description of material culture, carefully undertaken in *Rondonia*. Nowhere do they treat of family life and social organization. Under these circumstances it may be surprising that the Nambikwara seem to have been completely forgotten after the publication of the work of Roquette Pinto. It was natural that our own expedition, begun exactly
121 26 years and two months after /3/ the beginning of Roquette Pinto's trip, should be dedicated to filling in—even partially—the gaps of preceding research. We have sought more extensive and precise linguistic information; paid more attention to the "dynamic" aspect of the material culture, considering less the finished products than the processes of their fabrication; and above all, we have dedicated ourselves mainly to the study of family and social organization, the description of which is the object of the present work.

114 It is superfluous to stress that an exhaustive study of the life and society of the Nambikwara will not be found here. We were only able to share the life of the Indians during the nomadic period, and that alone would be enough to limit the extent of our research. A trip undertaken during the sedentary period would no doubt furnish some important information, and would permit correcting the general perspective. We hope to be able to undertake this some day. As Roquette Pinto wrote at the beginning of *Rondonia*: "Lentas hão de ser sempre as construccões cientificas en tal terreno". ["Scientific building in such country must always be slow."] (1) His book, however, must always be merited with having called attention to one of the most interesting cultures of indigenous Brazil and having been the first to produce a lively and charming picture of it.

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133 The territory occupied by the Nambikwara Indians extends from the Papagaio River in the east to a zone in the northwest ending approximately at the junction of the Commemoracão de Floriano and Barão de Melgaço Rivers, both branches of the Machado River or Gi-Parana. This point marks, at the same time, the end of the plateau which occupies nearly the entire central and western parts of the state of Mato Grosso. The southern boundary is placed at the middle course of the Guaporé River, and, farther to the west, it follows the entire course of the Commemoracão de Floriano River. The location of the northern

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1. *Prefacio da Segunda Edicão*, p. 13.

131 boundary is unknown. The upper course of the Roosevelt River (former-
133 ly: da Duvida) is doubtless inhabited by Nambikwara groups, but these cannot extend far toward the west for the intervening region between the Roosevelt River and the upper Gi-Parana is occupied by tribes of the Tupi tongue. It seems probable to us that the northern frontier of the Nambikwara territories, between the Roosevelt and Juruena Rivers, approximately follows the eleventh parallel. Thus, the boundaries of the region could be delimited in the following way: in the east, between the eleventh and thirteenth parallels, the course of the Juruena and of the Papagaio; in the southeast, a conventional line going from the eleventh parallel and 58° 4' to the fifteenth parallel and 60°, this last point corresponding almost to the location of the town of Villa-Bella; in the south, the course of the Guaporé beyond Villa-Bella to the sources of the Corumbiara River and the neighboring region, and, from there, the course of the /4/ Commemoracão de Floriano River to the beginning of the Machado River (about 11° 7' parallel and 60°9'); in the west, a conventional line extending from the last point to the intersection of the Roosevelt River with the eleventh parallel; finally, in the north, the eleventh parallel from the Roosevelt River to the Juruena. Thus the greatest length of this area is about 400 to 450 kilometers from north to south and the width, from east to west, reaches 300 kilometers.

Considered in its entirety, the area constitutes the northern and western zone of the vast plateau which occupies the greatest part of the state of Mato Grosso, and whose southern extremity rises above the countryside of Cuiaba from the imposing site of a great rocky wall, the "Chapada." This northern and western zone is also the most inhospitable region of Mato Grosso; maybe even—with the pampas of the northeast—of all of Brazil.

133 The geological structure of these lands is imperfectly known. They are formed of red sandstone with clayey layers and date from various periods—Devonian in the east (the "Chapada" proper), Cretaceous in the zone which particularly interests us ("Planalto dos Parecis" and the so-called "Serra do Norte"). The layer of sandstone rises abruptly above the crystalline rocks which occupy the upper valley of the Cuiaba River. The transition is more progressive toward the eastern extremity of the plateau of the Parecis since, several kilometers to the west of Diamantino, one passes, almost without perceiving it, the

133 dividing line of waters which separates the basin of the Paraguay, a tributary of the La Plata River, and the sources of the Ariños River, itself a tributary of the Amazon.

In its general aspect, the region is a sort of vast undulating plateau, falling slowly in the direction of the basin of the Amazon, with the highest points in the center and in the south (about 800 meters) and the lowest (about 350 meters) toward the north and west. Nevertheless, the traveler leaving from the south is greeted by an impressive spectacle when, after having traveled through 1,200 kilometers of high desolate land, he reaches the northwest border of the plateau, compared to the lowlands the difference in altitude is small, 100 meters at the most, but the rise is abrupt. Behind him, he leaves an interminable and sterile brush, while immediately at his feet begins, with the valley of the Gi-Parana, the no less interminable Amazon forest. This remarkable geographic frontier is also the western limit of Nambikwara territories.

Farther to the center and to the north, the aspect is different; running waters have worn ditches across the plateau which become larger in the direction of the Amazon basin. These depressions bring about differences in altitude up to 150 meters. One notices them especially in the region which extends from the Roosevelt River to the Doze de Otubro River, and they give this region a falsely mountainous aspect from which the fallacious expression "Serra do Norte" probably originates.

[134] Geological constitution conspires with climatic conditions to [5]
[132] give the plateau its desolate physiognomy. The sand, product of the decomposition of the sandstone, provides a sterile soil, and the irregular distribution of rain explains the prairie-like aspect, so characteristic of the whole region. Except for a little rain—very rare—which falls sometimes in July or August, the "chuvas de caju," one might say that the period from April to September is completely arid. On the contrary, precipitation is violent and almost daily from October to March. There are storms when the rain lasts sometimes one, two or even three consecutive days. During the rainy season the temperature rises; 42 to 44 degrees[1] during the day, cooler at night, with a sudden and brief shower at dawn. But abrupt variations of temperature rather characterize the dry season, probably because of intense nocturnal radiation. It is not rare, at this season, to go from a daytime maximum of 40 degrees to a nocturnal minimum of 8 or 10 degrees.
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513] The Indians, who live completely nude, sleep on the ground, and know nothing of the use of coverings either of cloth or fur, suffer cruelly from this circumstance.

[1] [i.e. degrees Centigrade.—Analyst]

137 On such soil and in such a climate, vegetation is reduced to some sparse, stunted trees, some angular bushes where thorny plants predominate. Upon the arrival of the rains, the land becomes covered in an incredibly short time with flowers and tall grasses. But during the other seven months, these plants wither and dry up (when the brush fires of the Indians do not do away with them completely) and the sand, white, red or ocher according to the region, appears in large
136 tracts under the charred branches. This is the time when the rare
137 small game which wanders across the plateau concentrates in the impenetrable groves (capões) whose rounded dome marks the presence of springs. There the animals find small pastures still green, usually bordering the narrow ribbon of forest which borders the rivers.

133 The courses of water are numerous and important, the two principal groups forming respectively the basins of the Juruena and of the Roosevelt. All the valleys are approximately parallel, and their waters flow toward the north. They cut the plateau by as many longitudinal ditches, and their course is cut up by cascades of rapids, sometimes also by waterfalls—for example, the falls of the Papagaio River at Utiarity, the falls of the Sacre River, and the rapids of the Juruena. These accidents correspond to the passage from sedimentary soil to crystalline rocks which reappear in the middle part of the Amazon basin. In their upper courses, owing to the nature of the terrain, the rivers have deep beds sometimes reaching a depth of some thirty meters. The water remains so transparent, however, that one can easily see the bottom and the fish which swim around. These conditions aggravate the food problem even more. The fish sees the fisherman through the crystal green and escapes him without fail. This is true especially concerning the branches of the Tapajoz. When one reaches the lowlands of the valley of the Madeira, one does not only go from prairie to humid forest, the water courses [6] are also transformed, with the beds flat and muddy, and the waters a reddish color.

101 One can see that the frontiers of the territory occupied by the
131 Nambikwara correspond—roughly in the south and north, and almost exactly in the northwest—to the limits of the plateau. Toward the east, where the border follows closely the course of the Juruena, the Nambikwara border the Paressi and the Iranxe Indians who occupy the southern and eastern parts of the plateau.

161 It is impossible to estimate even approximately, the number of Nambikwara population since their territory remains to a large extent unknown. But it seems reasonable to assume that at the end of the construction of the telegraph line (around 1915-1920) this number must have been about five times more than at present. In postulating

161 a density of constant population for the whole territory, one might
admit a total figure of 10,000 inhabitants at the time of discovery,
corresponding to 2,000 or 3,000 today, and probably even less. Our
itinerary had been drawn up with the main purpose of putting us in
contact with the greatest possible number of Indians. After five
months of traveling across their territory, we had only encountered
200; that was the actual mean of a single Nambikwara band twenty
years ago. Today the nomad band consists of from 4 or 5 to 30 or 40
members. This demographic decrease is explained by the introduction
of diseases of other races after the first penetration of the territory
in 1907. The few numerical data which it was possible for us to col-
101 lect will dispense with all commentary. Fifteen years ago, the known
161 fraction of the Sabanê group numbered more than 1,000 individuals;
when the group visited the telegraph station of Campos Novos in 1928,
161 there were counted 127 men plus women and children. In November
164 of 1928 however, an epidemic of grippe broke out, when the group
101 was camping at a place known to the telegraph employees by the
name of Espirro. The illness rapidly evolved toward a form of pulmo-
nary oedema, and 300 Indians died in 48 hours. The whole group
disbanded, fleeing the malady and leaving behind the sick and dying.
Of the 1,000 Sabanê formerly known, only 19 men survived along
with their wives and children. Besides the epidemic it should be
161 added, to explain these astounding figures, that the Sabané were at
101 war several years ago with certain eastern neighbors (group a2) (1).
But a large group of dialect b2, installed not far from Tres Buritis,
was completely liquidated by the grippe in 1927 except six or seven
persons of whom only (2) three were still living in 1938. The Tarundê
group, [7] formerly one of the most important, still had 12 men (be-
sides women and children) in 1926; of these 12 men, 4 only were
living in 1939.

101 A southern group of dialect b1 (Kabişi) seems to have resisted
161 better; undoubtedly because their contacts with the people of the
Line are rare. From 1929 to 1934, no Kabişi had been seen along
the telegraph line. The Indians perhaps circulated more to the south

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1. See the classification of the Nambikwara group, below, p. 10 f.

2. See below, p. 51.

101 161 where the town of Villa Bella de Mato Grosso, three quarters abandoned, must have undergone several attacks by unknown Indians, during the same period, but whom the rare residents also call by the name of Kabiși. According to our informants, this group in itself still had 700 or 800 individuals of whom we encountered a dozen in September 1938 (1). The other groups decreased rapidly, by epidemics, and owing to their feeble birth rate which constitutes a general phenomenon as will be seen in the chapter dedicated to the analysis of each group.

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114 101 197 All by himself, Roquette Pinto has attempted a classification of the Nambikwara. He distinguishes four groups. To the southeast, the Kokozu, who live near the Juruena, Juina, Papagaio and Camararé Rivers; to the northeast, the Anunzé, who occupy the basin of the Doze de Otubro River; to the southwest, a group called Uaintaçu or Kabixi, extending from Campos Novos to the valley of the Guaporé. Finally, to the northwest, from the west bank of the Doze de Otubro River to the valley of the Roosevelt River, is found a final group consisting of the Tagnani, Tauité, Saluma, Taruté, Taschuité. Roquette Pinto does not clearly indicate on what basis this classification is founded. One can assume that it is not purely linguistic, since the vocabularies published in Rondonia contain only three dialects. Without doubt, a good deal of empiricism is involved. Besides, the list of groups which is found in the publications of Rondon and his collaborators only occasionally corresponds to the classification of Roquette Pinto. Our own lists of names of groups do not include all those cited by our precursors; but they reveal several new names. At the same time, we have brought up some dialects which had never been mentioned. It is thus too early to proceed to a definitive classification, and farther on will be found the reasons for these uncertainties. The nomad bands of the Nambikwara are of fragile formation, and they all possess a name, a surname derived from the system of parentage or owed to the malice of a neighboring group. Thus the names appear, disappear, or are transmitted with surprising facility. Here is a good example of disagreement [8] between observers working in different periods: Somewhere, between 1926 and 1928, Max Schmidt collected a short vocabulary of 20 words, which he published later on (1) as having been obtained from a group called

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[163] 1. See below, p. 52.

1. loc. cit.

101 Tamaindê, then installed at Tres Buritis. This vocabulary certainly
114 comes from group b2 of our classification, who are distinguished by
197 the usage of a verbal suffix of the form -*ĵore*, and which we have also found in the region of Tres Buritis. However, in 1938, the users of this same dialect called themselves by the name Taiatê, and the name Tamaindê was only used by a group speaking a different dialect (*b1*) to point out a third group (*c* of our classification), and one may doubt that its dialect even belongs to the Nambikwara linguistic family.

121 What conclusions may be drawn? Any attempt at classification based on the names of bands, whether they be chosen by the band or received from neighboring groups is condemned to failure in advance. The only sound basis for a classification of bands and groups can be linguistic. In any case, this method will be the only valid one as long as study carried on during the rainy season will not permit the establishment of larger and more stable units than the nomadic bands of the dry season. As it would be difficult and arbitrary to call each
128 dialect by the temporary name of such and such a band who spoke it at the moment when the research was being carried on, and as a classification undertaken on the basis of present knowledge could only be provisional, we shall proceed with the aid of symbols, in preference to the names of groups which would give a false picture of reality.

197 This having been stated, it can be said that the Nambikwara linguistic family includes three principal groups of which two are subdivided into sub-groups. There are in all five distinct units. The two groups that we designate respectively by *a* and *b* are closely related from a semantic and morphological point of view, and they incontestably represent two modulations of the same language. In the two cases one observes the same usage of classifactory suffixes, with a verbal suffix whose meaning is "to be," "to become," "to do," to make." In the dialect of group *a*, this verbal suffix appears in the forms -*kedjutu*, -*kedutsu* -*kiʔtitu*. One should distinguish a type *a1*, predominant from the Papagaio to the Juina River, with an ending -*u* for nouns, and a type *a2* which tends to substitute an ending -*e* for the preceding. As this last group is found to the west of the other, and it occupies approximately the region from the sources of the Doze de Otubro River and the Camararé River, it appears likely that the ending -*e* has appeared under the influence of dialect *b*. Apart from the ending and several variations in vocabulary, the dialects *a1* and *a2* are practically identical.

The vocabularies of groups *a* and *b* diverge more seriously. The latter also presents an ending -*e* for nouns, and some [9] new forms for the verbal suffix. On that latter basis, one should distinguish a

197 sub-group *b1* with the verbal suffix -*dige* or -*dage*, and a sub-group *b2*, in all points identical to the preceding except the verbal suffix of the form¼[10] -*ʝore*. The region of the dialect *b1* extends from the right bank of the Guaporé in the south to the lower course of the Tenente Marques and Ikê Rivers in the north, and from the basin of the Doze de Otubro River in the east, to a region terminating above the right bank of the Roosevelt River to the west. One hears dialect *b2* from the upper basin and the middle basin of the Roosevelt River to the juncture of the Barão de Malgaço and Commemoração de Floriano Rivers.

In these semantic and morphological characters, dialect *c* departs clearly from the preceding. We have not progressed far enough in studying it linguistically to decide whether or not it is correct to include it in the Nambikwara family. It is spoken in a region situated to the north and northeast of the region of dialect *a2*.

We shall now attempt to establish a correlation between our classification and the previous outlines.

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1. Group *a*.

Sub-group *a1*.

From the vocabulary published by Roquette Pinto at the end of *Rondonia*, and from geographic indications which he furnished, one can conclude that his *Kokozu* (which form his group in the southeast) certainly corresponds to our sub-group *a 1*. Nevertheless, we have not been able to find the term *Kokozu* (P. de Souza: *Cocozu*) again. The ending -*u* indicates dialect *a 1*; but the term *koko* belongs to the Paressi language and to the dialects of group *c*, with the same meaning "maternal uncle." It is completely unknown in the system of parentage of group *a*. According to our information, group *a 1* would be called:

1. *ualiʝere* by group *b 1*;
2. *ualiriri'te* by group *c*;

and it is divided into numerous bands who call themselves, or who give these names to one another:

3. *oaklétosu* (right bank of the Juruena);
4. *halotesu* (left bank of the Juina);
5. *kiaaru* (surname: "the liars"; upper-Juruena);
6. *kuri'tsu* (left bank of the Juruena).

¼ [Map No.1 follow here.-Analyst]

1:Lévi-Strauss 10(A) E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

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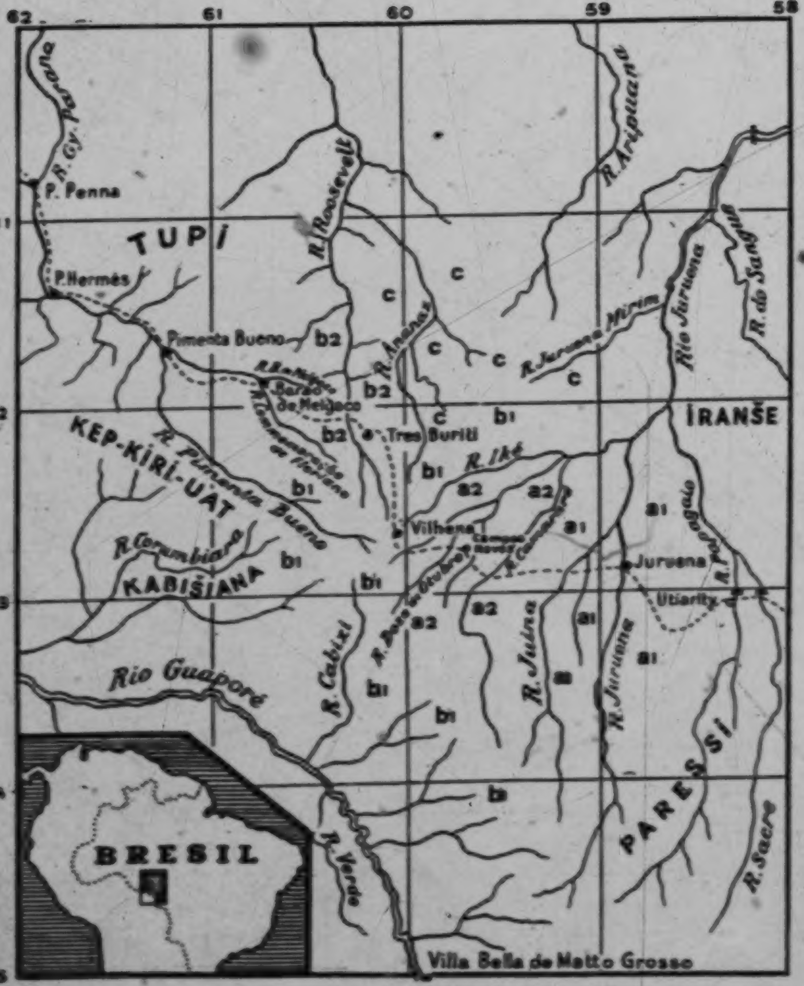
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Pimenta Bueno
R. Roosevelt
R. Aripuana
R. Ananaz
R. Juruena Mirim
Rio Juruena
R. do Sangue
Barão de Melgaço
Tres Buriti
KEP-KIRÍ-UAT
R. Pimenta Bueno
R. Commemoração de Floriano
R. Iké
IRANŠE
Vilhena
Campos Novos
R. Corumbiara
KABIŠIANA
Juruena
R. Papagaio
Utiarity
R. Cabixi
R. Juina
R. Juruena
Rio Guaporé
PARESSÍ
R. Verde
R. Sacre
BRESIL
Villa Bella de Matto Grosso
a1
a2
b1
b2
c

Map No. 1

Telegraph Line ----

Group *a 1* is in contact with the Iranşe Indians, whom they call:

7. *ira'su* (at the juncture of the Clavary and do Sangue Rivers).

[11] Sub-group *a2*.

These are the *Anunzu*, *Anunzé*, or the southeast group of Roquette Pinto (P. de Souza: *Anonzé*). The brief vocabulary published by Roquette Pinto following his own vocabularies also belongs to this group. We have never found the term *Anunzé* nor the other forms, but only the names,

8. *soálesu* (*a 1/2*);
9. *kakáteli* (*b 1*);
10. *munúkoti* (c).

II. Group *b*.

Sub-group *b1*.

Our sub-group b 1 includes the *Uaintaçu*, *Uaindzé* (Rondon: *Uainedezi*), *Kabixi*, *Tagnani* (Rondon: *Tagnani*), *Tauité* (Rondon: *Tauité*), *Tarute*, *Taschuité* (Rondon: *Tachivuité*) of Roquette Pinto, that is his two groups, southwest and northwest. We have never found the term *Tagnani*, nor, as a name of a band, the terms *tauitte*, *tarute*, *tasuitte*, which signify respectively, in the system of parentage of group *b*, "my child," "my brother-in-law," "my relative to the third degree." The Paressi apply the name *Kabisi* to group *b*. For the term *Uaintaçu*, we have found an equivalent:

11. *oaíndesu* (*a 1*),

which designates group *b*. On the other hand, we have collected the following appellations:

12. *nikedétosu* (*a 1*; to the west of the Camararé River);
13. *tarúnde* (*b 1*; basin of the Doze de Otubro River);
14. *mainánde* (b 1, --Kabisi [Paressi] Mama-Inde [Rondon]; sources of the Doze River and right bank of the Guaporé);(1)

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(1) It seems that the southern frontier of the *maimande* group is rather on the course of the tributaries of the right bank of the Guaporé River. The Guaporé strictly speaking is inhabited by river tribes, distinct from the Nambikwara in tongue and culture. But these tribes

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know and fear the Indians called Kabiși, this as far away as the São Miguel River (Haseman, "Some notes on the Pawumwa Indians of South America," American Anthropologist, 1912, p. 333). To add to the obscurity which still covers the problem of the southern frontiers of the Nambikwara, the Paressi of the south, who live to the east of the sources of the Juruena, are also known by the name of Kabiși (Max Schmidt, "Reisen in Matto Grosso," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1912, Vol. 44, pp. 146-176). Today they have intermingled or disappeared.

[12] 15. mamãindeti (c; identical to the preceding, and, by extension, to the whole group b 1);
16. itãmolo (c; toward the south).

Sub-group b 2.

This dialect had never been pointed out, except by the short vocabulary published by Max Schmidt and attributed to a Tamaindé group. We have collected the following names:

17. toánde (b 1; left bank of the Barão de Malgaço River);
18. lólola (c; same region);
19. nâsélate (b 1; between the Tenente Margues and Roosevelt Rivers.
20. lakónde (b 1; right bank of the Roosevelt River);
21. sovaĩnte (c; same region);
22. navaĩte (b2 [Rondon: Navaite]; Roosevelt River);
23. taiate (b2; Roosevelt River).

III. Group c.

This group seems not to have been studied. Only Rondon mentions, without geographic or dialectic information, a group Sabané and a group Taja. This last term belongs to the system of parentage of group c with the meaning "elder brother (or sister)"; we have never found it as a name of a band. On the other hand, group c calls itself by the name:

24. sabãne (c),

and is called by other groups:

25. toanteșu (a 1/2;
26. tamãinde (b 1/2),

IV. Names of Other Nambikwara Groups.

101 For the terms Malutundu, Ualutnudu, Ua-lut-ndu (Roquette
197 Pinto), Malotundu (Rondon), we have an equivalent:

27. malõnde (b 1),

which, nevertheless, has been given to us with the general sense of "Indian" (mazlone, b 1 = "it is an Indian") as opposed to "Brazilian" (keiadgere, b 1 = "the dressed").

We have not been able to collect any equivalent for the following terms cited [13] by Roquette Pinto and Rondon to designate Nambikwara groups: Taiopa (Roquette Pinto), Teiobé (Rondon), Tayopa (P. de Souza) (1), Xaodikokas (Roquette Pinto), Xaodes (Rondon), Xaodys (P. de Souza), Nẽnẽ (Rondon), Minis (Rondon), Payates (Relatorios de Commissão Rondon, passim). The authors mentioned do not furnish any precise information concerning the dialect and the geographic situation of these groups.

1. There is a term of parentage iõpa which belongs to dialect c with the sense of "brother-in-law," but the possessive t or ta comes from dialect b.

V. Names of Other Tribes

Roquette Pinto cites the term Saluma as belonging to his northwest group. We have documented it under the forms:

28. solõnde (b 1);

29. solõma (c);

to designate a northern tribe strange to the Nambikwara. As von den Steinen cites the name Suruma, given, he says, by the Paressi to the Munduruku, this interpretation seems more reasonable. Group c calls the Paressi,

30. jamãte ĩkaraka (c)

and recognizes at least the existence of three other northern tribes,

31. ikãtinaui (c);

32. kauãli (c);

33. jerãkolõnte (c).

Sub-group b 1 at times mentions a tribe living around the Barão de Melgaço River,

34. ikãnʃere (b 1).

121 181 In other publications (2) we have brought up the question of knowing if the type of life of the Nambikwara, apparently very primitive, does or does not constitute the authentic vestige of ancient conditions. Considered in the present, their level of culture is certainly very low. They live naked, especially the women, who only wear a thin string of buriti beads around the waist, some earrings, necklaces worn around the neck or looped over the shoulder, [14] bracelets made from the tail of the large armadillo, and, sometimes, some narrow bands of cotton woven by their husbands, or some buriti straw, tightly bound around the biceps, and wooden pins. Besides the same ornaments, the men sometimes put on a sort of straw pompom, fastened to the waist above the sex organs, and smaller ones, attached to cotton bracelets; on the other hand, they do not wear shell bracelets. The complete ignorance of the hammock and the Nambikwara [513] custom of sleeping on the ground (or, more rarely, on long strips of the bark of the palm tree *paxiuba*) has intrigued ethnologists for a long time. This sentiment is shared by neighboring tribes, and the [101] Paresi, mentioning this peculiarity, call the Nambikwara *Uaikoakoré*, "those who sleep on the ground."

221 The Nambikwara year must be divided into two distinct periods. During the rainy season (from October to March), each group settles on some small elevation rising above the course of some stream. The Indians then construct crude huts with curious variations in form and materials. They burn clearings in the approaches to the forests which 221 occupy the humid valley floor, and there they plant and cultivate 241 gardens principally with the starch-yielding plants of the manihot genus (sweet and bitter) and tobacco, sometimes some peas, cotton, peanuts, and calabash (*Lagenaria* sp.). They grate the yucca (manioc) on planks covered with the sharp bark of the palm tree, they press it with the aid of a piece of twisted bark. The garden produce furnishes food resources sufficient for part of the sedentary period, and even of use later: the Nambikwara preserve the yucca by burying the residue of the grated pulp in the ground.

221 At the arrival of the dry season, they abandon the village, or rather the site of temporary residence, and each group "breaks up," if one can say that, into several nomadic bands. For about seven

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291 301 2. On dual organization in South America, *América Indígena*, Mexico, 1944. On certain structural similarities of the Chibcha and Nambikwara languages. *Congrès International des Américanistes*, Paris, 1947.

221 For about seven months these bands go wandering across the prairie in search of small
[222] game, small animals such as caterpillars, spiders, grasshoppers, rodents, snakes, lizards, and so forth, and fruits, grains, roots or wild honey—in short, all that might keep them from dying of hunger. Their camps, set up for one or several days, sometimes for several weeks, consist of as many temporary shelters as families, made of palms or branches stuck in a semi-circle in the sand and connected at the top. This is the period when the quest for food absorbs all activities. The women equip themselves with digging sticks, and
221 the men hunt with the bow and arrow, of which several types must be
411 distinguished. The eastern groups have a bow with a flat section
184 which evolves toward a convex-plane section or a concave-convex section when one moves westward. As for the arrows, those made for hunting birds have a blunted tip. Arrows for fish have three to five points, each one formed like a minute harpoon, and the stem is without barb. The poisoned arrows (1), whose tip is protected [15]

1. See below, p. 95.

by a sheath of bamboo, are reserved for hunting monkeys and small game. Those for large game have a long lanceolate point. The barb is attached or sewed on. Besides the bow and arrow, the men use a club
[789] which often takes the form of a javelin, and its use is reserved for magic and war operations (1).

1. Cf. below, p. 99.

824 The primary materials of the indigenous industry consist of varied
825 woods, wax from wild bees, resin, fibers of the buriti palm trees (Mauritia vinifera) and tucum (Astrocaryum tucuma) bone of the monkey, teeth and claws of mammals, fur (only to make ornaments), feathers, quills of porcupines, vegetable shells and river shells, stones,
412 cotton and grains. As implements they have knives made from a sharp piece of bamboo, from stones crudely fashioned, or from fragments of iron or steel obtained through exchange, and fixed with the aid of wax and cord between two pieces of wood forming the handle. Drills are made of a borer of stone or iron mounted at the end of a stick
[77] which they turn between their palms. The Rondon Commission expanded the use of axes and metal hammers, and the old stone axes serve now only as small anvil blocks for fashioning shell or bone.
[415] The use of stone polishers must also be mentioned and, among the objects of current usage, the spindles, combs, baskets and gourds to carry water.

000 carry water. Pottery, unknown to the eastern groups, is crude every-
323 where else. There are neither canoes nor dugouts. The Indians make
184 501 five different types of musical instruments, all winds, which are often
534 heard in festivals.

142 The difference in physical appearance between the Nambikwara
[101] and their eastern, western and southern neighbors—Paressi, Tupi-
Kawahib and the tribes of the Guaporé—is striking. (2) And they

> 2. The anthropological study of the Nambikwara was the object of research of Dr. J.-A. Vellard, who was part of our expedition.

also differ from most of the other tribes of Brazil, whose physical type is generally more massive than theirs. In the case of the Nambikwara, the body is not exceptionally small; but they are slim, and their long hair, sometimes wavy and of more developed pilosity than the indigenous median, their hands and feet of reduced dimensions, their fine lineaments, and above all their faces, of characteristic outline but very purely chiseled, contribute to form a physical type far removed from that encountered most often in South America, but which reminds one persistently of certain types of southern Mexico and Guatemala, and even more of that characterized by the masks with pointed beards of the region of Vera Cruz.

* * * *

512 The Nambikwara get up at dawn, stir up the fires, warm them-
515 selves as well as they can after the cold of the night, then they eat
lightly of the [16] remains of last evening's yucca cakes. A little
later the men leave, together or separately, for a hunting expedition.
The women remain in the camp where they devote themselves to
culinary duties. The first bath is taken when the sun begins to come
up. The women and children often bathe together for amusement,
and sometimes a fire is lighted before which they crouch to warm
themselves on coming out of the water while they playfully exaggerate
a natural shivering. Other bathing takes place during the day. The
512 daily occupations vary little. The preparation of food is that which
252 requires the most care and time. Yucca must be ground and pressed,
[324] and the pulp dried and cooked. Or else the *cumaru* nuts (*Dipteryx
odorata*) which add their perfume to most dishes must be shelled and
512 boiled. When the need is felt, women and children go out on foraging
[516] expeditions. If the provisions are sufficient, the women spin, crouched

512 [516] on the ground in the position known by the name "aztec"—on their knees, the legs and feet flat on their inner side and the buttocks resting on the heels. [306] Or else they cut, polish and file beads from nutshells or sea shells, [515] earrings or other ornaments. And if the work bores them, they pick the lice from one another, stroll around or sleep.

512 521 During the warmest hours the camp is silent. The inhabitants, silent or asleep, enjoy the uncertain shade of the shelters. The rest of the time, the occupations are carried on with animated conversations. Nearly always gay and laughing, the Indians exchange jokes, and sometimes, with unmistakable gestures, obscene or scatological accounts which are greeted with great shouts of laughter. The work is often interrupted by mutual visits or questions; when two dogs or birds copulate, everybody stops and contemplates the operation with fascinated interest; then work is taken up again, after an exchange of commentaries about this important happening.

512 The children lounge around during a great part of the day, the girls surrendering themselves at times to the same jobs as their elders, the boys idle or fishing along a stream of water. The men remaining in camp dedicate themselves to basketwork, making arrows and musical instruments, and sometimes to performing some small domestic service. Complete accord usually reigns within the household. Toward three or four o'clock, the other men return from the hunt, the camp becomes animated, the conversation becomes livelier, groups form, different from family agglomerations. [262 824] They eat yucca cakes and everything found during the day: fish, roots, wild honey, bats, little animals captured, and small sweet nuts from the palm bacaiuva (Acrocomia sp.). [858] Sometimes a child begins to cry, quickly consoled by an elder. When night falls some women, chosen daily, go to collect or cut down in the neighboring woods the store of wood 512 313 482 for the [17] night. They can be seen returning in the twilight, staggering under the load which pulls the tumpline used for carrying it. To unload, they crouch and lean backwards a little, letting their bundle of bamboo rest on the ground in order to disengage the tumpline from their forehead.

512 In a corner of the camp the branches are amassed and each one supplies himself in proportion to his needs. The family groups form around their respective fires which begin to glow. The evening is passed in conversation, or else in singing and dancing. Sometimes these distractions are prolonged far into the night, but in general, after some amusements of caressing and friendly fighting, the couples draw closer together, the mothers clutch their sleeping infants to them, everything becomes silent, and the cold night is

5/a animated only by the crackling of a log, the light step of a provider, the howls of the dogs or the cries of an infant.

104

LIST OF PHONOLOGICAL SYMBOLS (1)

ə	mute e
ā	nasal a
ē	nasal e
ō	nasal o
i̯	asyllabic i
u̯	asyllabic u
s	palatal fricative unvoiced sibilant
z	palatal fricative voiced sibilant
č	palatal affricate unvoiced sibilant
γ	voiced velar fricative
ʔ	weak glottal stop
ẖ	strong glottal stop
'	accented syllable

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1. Cf. below, p. 37, n. 1.

PART I

FAMILY LIFE

KINSHIP SYSTEM

601 Whether the social unit under consideration be the temporary village or the nomadic band, the kinship system of the Nambikwara can as a whole be described as follows.

For any subject, male or female, all the members of his generation are divided into four large groups, that is two male groups [18] and two female groups. If the subject under consideration is a man, all the men of his generation will be divided into brothers and husbands of sisters (or brothers-in-law); while the women are divided into sisters and wives. In the same way, if the subject is a woman, all her female companions will be designated as sisters or as wives of brothers (sisters-in-law); and her male companions will share the names of brothers or husbands. Thus a man calls wife a number of women considerably larger than the number of his true wives, even if he is polygamous. And the woman, even though she is always monogamous, calls probably half of the men of her generation by the name of husband. In the same way brothers and sisters are far more numerous than actual brothers and sisters, that is, blood relatives. These latter are distributed into two sub-groups, the older brothers and the younger brothers in one, the older sisters and the younger sisters in the other. The term used to designate younger (blood) brothers and younger (blood) sisters also serves to designate "brothers" and "sisters" who are not blood relations, whatever their age may be compared to the subject under consideration.

A subject, male or female, calls his blood father father and all the latter's brothers; he calls his own mother mother and all her sisters. Reciprocally, all his "fathers" and all his "mothers" call him by the name of child, son, or daughter.

A single term is likewise used to designate the father of the father (or of the mother), the wife's father, and the mother's brother, while one and the same term serves to designate the mother of the father (or of the mother), the wife's mother, and the father's sister. But, contrary to the preceding case, there exists no reciprocal term. The father (or the mother) of my father and of my mother call me by a term connotating parents to the third generation, while my spouse's father and my mother's brother, on one hand (regularly identified), the mother of my spouse and my father's sister, on the other hand

601 (regularly identified), call me by a name meaning nephew and son-in-law, niece and daughter-in-law at the same time. Thus spouse's parents and my parents's parents identified when I name them, distinguish themselves when they answer me, since they use different terms as regards me.

Passing from the direct line to the collateral line, a generation is lost, since the same term is used to designate the parents of the spouse or the parents' parents. A grand-nephew is thus theoretically separated from his great-uncles by four levels of kinship, while he is only three degrees away in kinship from his grand-parents, who nevertheless identify themselves with his great-uncles, for the brother of the mother or the sister of the father are identified with the father and the mother of the spouse, as the scheme opposite indicates.

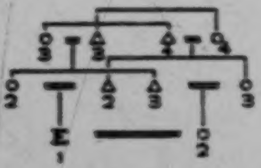

Fig. 1.

[19] Great-uncles (or aunts) thus use a new term to designate their grand-nephews (or nieces), connotating relatives to the fourth degree, while their descendants employ, to call them, the term already used in the direct line, but not yet in the collateral line, serving to designate relatives to the second degree. This last term serves thus, in direct line, to designate the third generation in line of descent, and the third ascending generation in collateral line, equivalent in descending line to the fourth degree. These remarks lead to the conclusion that the Nambikwara make no distinction between generations and degrees of kinship. A difference of one generation is to them equal to a removal of one degree.

That suggested, and within the same generation, all the individuals whom I call husband (or wife) are the sons (or daughters) of the "brothers" (blood or not) of my mother, and of the sisters (blood or not) of my father, that is, of the brothers of my mother (who are at the same time the "brothers-in-law" of my father), or of the sisters of my father (who are at the same time the "sisters-in-law" of my mother). And all the individuals whom I call brothers or sisters are the children of my father's brothers or my mother's sisters, that is, of the "wives" of my father (who are at the same time my "mothers"), or of the "husbands" of my mother (who are at the same time my

601 "mothers"), or of the "husbands" of my mother (who are at the same time my "fathers"). It is seen then that a given individual calls all his parallel cousins "brothers and sisters," and his parallel uncles and aunts "fathers and mothers", while he calls his cross-cousins husbands or wives, and his cross-aunts and uncles "father-in-law and mother-in-law" (identified with grandfather and grandmother, thus, more exactly: parents to the second degree). The confusion between gen-
601 erations and degrees thus makes equally possible the marriage of the
582 brother of the mother or of the father, to the daughter of the sister or of the brother, or of the sister of the father with the son of the brother, since, in these two cases, the parents-in-law will be the grandparents, called thus, by the term of parents to the second degree. These marriages, which we shall call "oblique," since they unite individuals belonging to two consecutive generations, are actually practiced.

601 Below is to be found the list of terms of relationship, as they have just been analyzed in their respective relations (Dialect A 1/2).

1.	ahuĩnosu (a 1); ahuĩne (a2)	father, brother of the father, husband of the mother's sister.
2.	a?kẽnosu (a 1); a?ketosu (a2)	mother, sister of the mother, wife of the father's brother.
3.	uettu, yezu	child.
4.	a?kĩraru	son.
5.	a?kĩneru	daughter.
6.	akensĩnosu	older brother.
7.	(t)osĩnosu	older sister.
[20]8.	aldnsu	younger brother, son of brother of the father, son of sister of the mother.
9.	arĩndesu	younger sister, daughter of brother of the father, daughter of sister of mother.
10.	asũkosu	sister's husband, cross-cousin (masc.) (man speaking).
11.	aseẽtasu	brother's wife, cross-cousin (fem.) (woman speaking).
12.	asĩntu	sister's daughter (m. s.), brother's daughter (w. s.), son's wife.
13.	asineẽru	sister's son (m. s.), brother's son (w. s.), daughter's husband.

601

14. asoúnosu	father of the father or of the mother, brother of mother, father of spouse.
15. aʔéinosu	mother of the father or mother, sister of father, mother of spouse.
16. asuíttu	son (or daughter) of the son (or of the daughter), brother (or sister) of the father (or mother) of the father (or of the mother).
17. asuélisu	son (or daughter) of the son (or of the daughter) of the brother (w. s.) or of the sister (m. s.).
18. asiésu (a 1); (tá) dosu (a2)..	wife, daughter of the brother of the mother, daughter of the sister of the father.
19. ouénsaesu (a 1); (tá)nosu (a2)..	husband, son of the brother of the mother, son of the sister of the father.

The following scheme shows their utilization in this theoretic group:

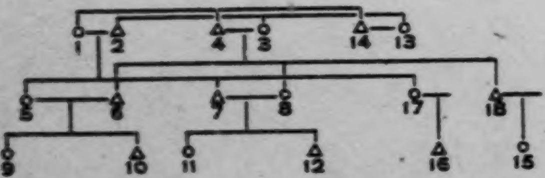

Fig. 2.

60/ As concerns a male subject E 10:

	1- 3.	aʔẹnosu	
	2- 4.	asoúnosu	rec. : asụittu
	13-14.	asuíttu	rec.: asuélisu
	5-17.	aʔkénosu	rec.: aʔkiraru
	6-18.	ahụínosu	rec.: aʔkíraru
[21]	7.	asôũnosu	rec.: asineéru
	8.	aʔéinosu	rec.: asineéru
	9.	aríndesu or (t)oánosu	rec.: akenánosu or alónsu
	11.	asiẹ́su	rec.: ouénsaesu
	12.	asúkosu	rec.: ásúkosu (if the subject chosen is e 9 woman, E12 will be ouénsaesu and e 11 aseétasu, rec.: aseétasu)
	15.	aríndesu	rec.: alónsu
	16.	alónsu	rec.: aríndesu

If one does not keep account of the reciprocal use of the terms, normally univocal, alónsu and aríndesu in the case of parallel cousins, this nomenclature only includes univocal terms, with the exception of two: asúkosu and aseétasu, and each sex has at its disposition only one of these two reciprocal terms; in other words, a man has only brothers-in-law, while a woman has only sisters-in-law. It will be seen below that as concerns the first term (asúkosu), it implies particular relations between the men who use it.

The extreme simplicity of the system of course leads to some difficulties of nomenclature when one desires to distinguish degrees of parentage confounded by the system. In the same way its extreme symmetry risks bringing about contradictions when "oblique" marriages bring transfers between generations. To the classificatory nomenclature analyzed above is superimposed—or added—a descriptive nomenclature, which permits, in case of difficulty, placing the individual in the generation with more precision, or according to the degree of kinship which he holds with respect to the subject. This descriptive [55] nomenclature is not currently used, and above all, it never intervenes in naming. But it is consulted each time there is some doubt, and in some cases more frequent usage can be pointed out.

The first difficulty might be produced concerning the distinction of the real husband or wife, compared to the theoretical husbands or wives, or of the true father or mother compared to the theoretical

601 husbands or wives, or of the true father or mother compared to the theoretical "fathers" or "mothers," or of true sons or daughters as compared to theoretical "sons" and "daughters." In most cases, the discrimination seems totally superfluous to the Indians, since it is so well accented by the differences of behavior. Sometimes also it seems useless because of the inverse of the preceding, the theoretical wife can become a real wife (for example in case of polygamy, or of remarriage), the theoretical father or mother, or the theoretical son [609] or daughter, can play the role of true father or mother, or of true son or daughter, through the mechanism of adoption. This functions automatically, in the case of the father's death, the child then being [22] [768] taken in and raised by its father's brother. In this case his father's brother, whom he has always called father, becomes for him a real father even though by substitution, and the wife of his father's brother, who is most often his mother's sister, and whom he has consequently always called mother, is from then on treated by him as such, especially if his own mother is dead or has remarried. However, sometimes the Indians wish to sharpen the theoretical character of the name. Then they add to the classifying term a descriptive term, whose approximate meaning is that of "relative" in the most general sense, as,

20. (akit) ajdnisu,

used in the substantive form above, or in the participial form ajdnere; or in the exclamatory form, in conversation, ajdneram.

Thus we have found the following appelations,

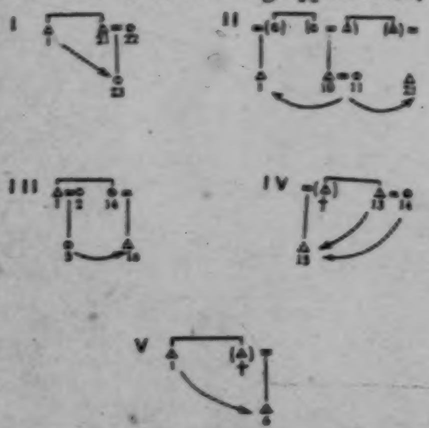

Fig. 3

I. aʔkineru ajdnëram. --II. (t)ou̯ensaesu ajdnisu. III. ou̯ensaesu ajdnisu (among children). IV. tau̯ettu aʔkiraru ajdneram. --V. akineram (aʔkirarâ ajdneram).

601 A second difficulty comes up in the designation of parallel cousins. It has been seen above that the same name is used for them which designates the younger sister or the younger brother, whatever their age may be. This [23] usage suggests that the adequate translation of the terms alóñsu, akeñnosu, ariñdesu, (t)oãnosu could be, rather than "elder" and "younger," big brother, big sister, little brother, little sister, with the same ambiguity that exists in our language between the real sense of the adjective and its figurative sense. Be that as it may, one often comes up against a contradictory situation, not only objectively (which does not shock Indian logic, as will be seen in the case of "mothers" younger than their "sons"), but also literally. This is what happens when for example, a woman calls a female cousin ariñdesu who is quite obviously her elder. Then one has recourse to two supplementary terms, sometimes added to classifying terms, but also sometimes replacing them, even when it is a question of designating blood brothers or sisters. These are:

21. toá-nosu : "elder" (to designate a man):
22. toátadosu : "elder" (to designate a woman).

These terms serve to sharpen the respective position, regarding the generation, for those who are:

23. ariñnẽdesu, or
24. aloneẽnedẽsu,

that is, "one as regards the other of the ariñdesu," or "the alóñsu," which is not permissible in certain instances; while two women can be without difficulty:

25. aseteeñãdesu

or two men:

26. asukouñẽdesu,

that is, "the one for the other," aseẽtasu or asuñkosu. Thus we have found women who call their parallel cousins ariñdesu toátadosu, meaning, "my older little sister."

601
582 Other difficulties appear in the case of oblique marriages. When the mother's brother marries the sister's daughter, the woman's grandparents are at the same time the husband's parents. When the husband marries one or several daughters of his wife's sister, his own parents are simultaneously the parents-in-law and the great-uncles of his wives. Thence the frequent necessity to differentiate more precisely than the classifying terms permit between mother's and the father's sisters, on one side (that is the potential parents-in-law), and the fathers and mothers of the father and mother (that is the eventual 601 parents-in-law of one of the spouses). The [24] following terms, then,

60| are found which complete (or substitute for) the classifying terms aʔẽįnosu, asoũnosu, ahũĩnosu, aʔkẽnosu:

27. arĩndagresu : "mother's mother";
28. oỵensǽrosu : "mother's father";
29. aseẽtagresu : "father's mother";
30. alũdnarusu : "father's father";
31. aʔẽįndagresu : "sister of the mother's mother."

The etymology of the terms verifies the principal of marriage of cross-cousins. In fact, if one has:

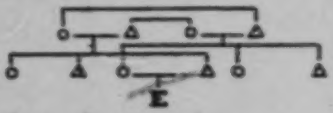

Fig. 4.

it is established that:

arĩndagresu (or arindakerosu, "little old sister"), is the sister of my father's father;

oỵensǽrosu (from oỵẽnsaesu, "husband") is the husband of my mother's mother;

aseetágresu (or aseetákerosu, "old sister-in-law") is the sister-in-law of my mother's mother;

alũdnarusu (from alõnsu, "brother") is the brother of my mother's mother.

Concerning uncles and aunts, their name is sharpened by descriptive terms:

32. akaĩntagresu, atákarusu: "mother's sister";
33. akaterosu : "mother's brother";
34. aỵádnosu : "father's sister."

No descriptive term has been found for the father's brother, normally [768] called father (ahỵinosu): perhaps this lack is to be explained by his position as father in case of the blood father's death.

On the other hand, the following descriptive termshave been collected in the course of attempts at geneological reconstructions, but it was not possible to determine for certain the levels or degrees of parentage to which they refer. It is possible that they are employed jointly with certain of the preceding terms:

601 35. tarútarosu : "old brother-in-law" (tarúte [b 1/2] equals asúkosu [a 1/2]);

36. tuĩtarosu : "old husband" (ụĩte [b 1/2] equals oẹ́nsaesu [a 1/2]);

37. ianérosu : ?

38. asoúkerosu : "old grandfather" or "father-in-law";

[25] [764] 39. takaʔkenosu cited with the commentary : "When the takaʔkenosu dies, the alóñsu cut their hair, but not the akenánosu."

Finally, two terms of relationship express the relations coming from "oblique" marriages and from the division of generations into "elders" and "younger":

40. ajúnkedisu;

41. (t)ádirikisu.

A man calls the akenanosu of his mother ajúnkedisu (while the term asoúnosu is generally—but not always—reserved for the alóñsu); one and the other are, of course, the asúkosu of his father. The same individual is then called "father-in-law" (asoúnosu) or "husband" (oẹ́nsaesu) by the sister of the subject considered, or, if she is married, ajúnkedisu also, the husband then calling him "father" (ahuĩnosu). One sees then that the ajúnkedisu is a man whose daughter or wife I (masculine subject) marry, and whose son my sister marries, if she does not marry the man himself. Thus it is explained that the ajúnkedisu is asúkosu or asoúnosu, to my brother; asúkosu or asineétu, to my father; akenánosu or asineétu, to my mother; oẹ́nsaesu or asoúnosu, to my sister; ahụĩnosu, to my wife.

On the other hand, a man calls a woman (t)ádirikisu who can be ariĩndesu or asintu of his father, aseétasu or asiĩntu of his mother, aseétasu or aʔeʔnosu of his sister, aekénosu of his wife. She is then a woman whom I marry or whose daughter I marry. A woman, in her turn, calls another woman (t)ádirikisu who is aʔkéndesu of her husband, that is, a woman whose brother or son she marries.

601 582 One sees that these two names bestow two privileges, or opens a double right: that of the marriage of the mother's brother (and, theoretically, of the father's brother) with his niece; a right belonging essentially to the elder brother; and of the marriage of the sister's son (brother's son) with his aunt. This rule, or rather this possibility is explained on the one hand by the tendency of the Nambikwara towards polygamy, on the other hand, by the scarcity (moreover consecutive) of women. We shall study examples in an instant.

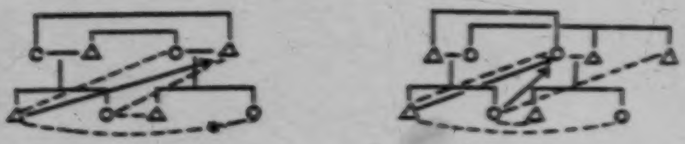

Fig. 5.

Left equals ajũnkedisu; right equals tãdirikisu.

[26] In the nomenclature of the terms utilized for the description of relationships of parentage, we shall cite again:

42. asãjkesu (a 1/2) yeutetere (b 1/2): "widower, widow."
43. koaade (b 1) : "orphan (masc.)":
44. koadare (b 1) : "orphan (fem.)".

• • • •

As we have just seen, the terms ajũnkedisu and (t)ãdirikisu appear as tentatives for the solutions of ambiguous situations coming from an oblique marriage. These are only partially successful, since my parents always have the possibility of interpreting, in two different ways, their relationship of parentage concerning my aiũnkedisu or my (t)ãdirikisu. Most often, these ambiguities are left without solution, or else one of the two following phenomena happens: each member of the family interprets his relation to the doubtful relative in the way easiest for him, without worrying about the fact that the different names in use might appear grossly contradictory; or else the relative—or the bloc of relatives—in doubt are shifted by one generation or by one degree of proximity as a means of rationalizing the structure. These difficulties appear especially in the case of polygamous unions. These are generally realized in the form of an encroachment of one or several women belonging to the younger (génération inférieure) generation than the one into which they should have—sometimes already have—married normally. Here is a striking illustration, where the complexity of relationships to the younger generation follows an oblique marriage to the older generation.

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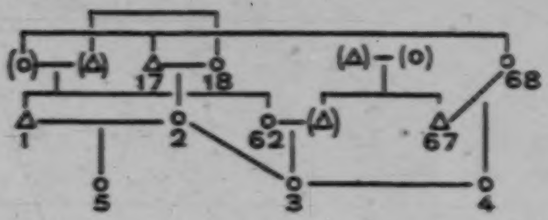

Fig. 6.

This is what happens: A1 married his cross-cousin a2, by whom he has a little daughter a5. Later on, he married two young women: one (a3) whose father is dead; the other, a4, whose father was the brother of the father of a3 and was called "husband" by a2 who also called the mother of a4 "sister-in-law." This established, a4, and a3 are, for A1 and a2, "daughters" or "daughters-in-law." Since A1 married them, they have become, by promotion:

For a2, "little sisters" (arĩndesu);

[27] For a5 (for whom they should normally have been sisters or sisters-in-law), "mothers" or "mother's sisters";

For A1, wives.

And while his wife a2 continues to give to the parents-in-law of her husband the old name of husband (ouẽnsaesu) and of sister-in-law (aseẽtasu), he now calls them parents-in-law, that is asoũnosu and aʔẽnosu.

Another case presents the following combination:

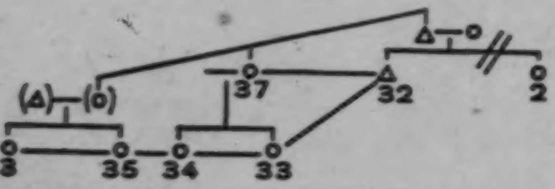

Fig. 7

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582 A man marries a woman and subsequently her four "daughters" (probably two blood daughters from the preceding marriage, and two parallel nieces). In this case, a2 calls the older wife aʔejnosu, and the four young ones aseetasu, from which one can conclude that A32 has married at the same time his (t)adirikisu and the latter's daughters.

Finally, in this third case:

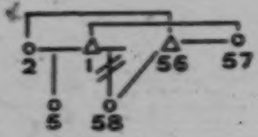

Fig. 8.

Normally, a2 calls a57 aseetasu (wife of her brother), but she disregards the fact that a58 is in the same situation, and keeps for her the name which she gave her before her marriage to A56, of tayettu (my child, daughter of her husband). Her own daughter a5 normally calls a57 aʔejnosu (wife of the mother's brother), and a58 toanosu (older sister), however, she could marry and call the son of her "mother-in-law" husband as well as the son of her "sister."

Thus the Indians treat abnormal situations resulting from polygamous unions in two ways. Either they admit the creation of a new situation and bless it by revising the names (the newly-married wives are promoted to the class of "mothers," and their parents to the class of [28] "parents of the third degree"; the women are then separated in nomenclature from their former brothers, sisters, sisters-in-law and husbands, who become sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and sons-in-law); or else the former names are simply preserved, the practical knowledge of the situation supplanting the impropriety of the language.

601 But these uncertainties, which appear in the case of verbal contradictions, are completely absent in the presence of real contradictions. These latter are admitted as normal consequences of the system, or more exactly, they are not considered as contradictions. Thus:

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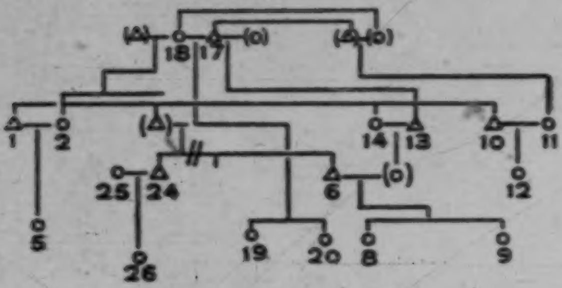

Fig. 9

A17, a man of about 55 years, married a18 (about 50 years) and has by her two daughters, a19 (about 12 years) and a20 (about 6 years). a18 has from a former marriage, a daughter a2 (about 30 years) married to A1 (about 35 years); the latter has taken a son A24 from an older dead brother; this son, himself married and the father of a baby, is about 26 years old. A17 and a18 are then "asoúnosu" and "aeʔinosu". The daughter a2 of a18 is a "aʔkénosu," mother of a daughter of 8 or 9 years, a5. Under these conditions, the two little girls a19 and a20 are likewise "mothers," and they are called "aʔkénosu" by:

a5 : their contemporary [feminine];
A6 : their elder [masculine] (about 25 years);
a12 : their elder [feminine] (about 22 years);
A24 : their elder [masculine] (about 26 years);

and consequently they are called "grandmother" by:

a8 : their contemporary [feminine] (about 6 years);
a9 : their junior [feminine] (about 3 years);

the daughters of A6; and, in fact, a2, who is a "mother," normally calls them "little sisters."

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184
[29] The system of parentage of the central, southern, and western groups (dialects b 1 and b2) does not present any fundamental difference as concerns the preceding. The degrees of parentage distinguished are less numerous; on the contrary, one finds quite a great variety of terms used to designate a set degree. The fact that the informants use several terms to qualify their situation as concerns a certain subject suggests that these terms are often synonyms, even though their etymological sense is not always perfectly clear.

601
184 Grandparents are most often singled out among themselves, and distinguished from the parents of the spouse, which does not happen in system a (1 or 2); also, the son (or daughter) of the brother (or the of the sister) of the father (or of the mother) are sometimes designated by different terms. The groups studied are not dense enough to be able to make a base for a theory of the system in force. Solutions of replacement intervene frequently, and the preferential forms of marriage found are not adequate for generalizations, due to an insufficient number of cases. [582] But the preceding considerations suggest that preferential unions, choosing also among certain categories of cross-cousins, could formerly have been in force.

Finally, the names for brothers (and sisters), elder and younger, are more changeable than in system a (1 or 2); and one sees appear a new term designating the brother or the sister of the other sex. [77] This disorganization of vocabulary can be interpreted as resulting from the influence of the northern system (dialect c), where we shall see later on that it tends more and more to assimilate the system of groups b.

Here is the vocabulary of parentage used, with references to group a (1/2): [Note: m. s. = man speaking; w. s. = woman speaking; m. w. s. = man or woman speaking.]

Dialect a 1/2		Dialect b 1/2	
ahuí'nosu	1.	(ta)mí'nde	(my) father, father's brother.
	2.	é'inde	father (equals man).
	3.	uá'jre	father (used to designate absent father, or father of a third person, or the father's brother.
	4.	(ta)mí'nlaore	father's brother (equals other father).
	5.	(ta)mindú'dnere	father (father's brother when he substitutes for dead father).
aʔké'nosu	6.	(ta)nãde	(my) mother, mother's sister.
	7-8.	(ta)nãdé'laore, ndá'ore	mother (other mother; for the mother's sister and the mother of a third).

	9.	denaũdnere	mother (wife of the father's brother. cf. 5)
[30] yettu	10.	yette	child.
	11.	namade	small child, baby.
aʔkĩraru	12.	nkĩraende	son.
	13.	ejingire	son (= little man).
	14.	nikilaũdnere	son (used by the father's brother to the brother's son).
aʔkĩneru	15.	ĩnkeninde	daughter.
	16.	deejingire	daughter (= little woman).
	17.	inkaniũdnere	daughter (adopted).
(t)oãnosu	18.	toaãde	older sister.
	19.	kirũnde	older sister (?).
arĩndesu	20.	(t)õaniuinĩkare	younger sister.
	21.	nlĩnde	brother or sister of opposite sex.
akenãnosu	22.	(t)õuatãde	older brother.
alõnsu	23.	(t)akanaãde	younger brother.
asĩesu	24.	(t)rẽre, ndeẽre	(my) spouse, wife.
oyẽnsaesu	25.	(t)uirãre	(my) spouse, husband.
	26.	ẽtende	husband (equals man).
	27.	uirãere	husband (when he is absent, or the husband of another).
asũkosu	28.	(t)ãrute	cross-cousin (masc.), sister's husband (m. s.).
aseẽtasu	29.	(ta)dẽdere	cross-cousin (fem.), brother's wife (w. s.).
asineẽru	30.	(t)asirare	sister's son, daughter's husband (m. s.).
	31.	(t)asininde	brother's son, daughter's husband (w. s.).
	32.	(ta)urĩnde	daughter's husband.
asĩntu	33.	sirdare 34. yikiãde	brother's daughter (w. s.), sister's daughter (m. s.) son's wife.
asoũnosu	35.	ndukuĩnde	
	36.	(ta)kũnde	mother's father, father of spouse.
	37.	soũnde 38. (ta)sõnde	father of father or of the mother.

601
184

aʔeihosu	39.	hiʔiʼnde	mother of spouse.
	40.	ʔiruʼnde	mother of the father or of the mother.
asuiʼttu	41.	asuiʼte	son (daughter) of the son (or daughter), sister of father (brother of mother) of father or of mother.
asueʼlisu	42.	asuiʼarore	children of the son or of the daughter of the brother (w. s.), children of the son or of daughter of the sister (m. s.).

[31] Descriptive terms:

43.	ueʼikuajnde 44. (ta)uiʼddnere	child of a third person, adopted child.
45.	ioʼdne	adolescent. (masc)
46.	tilʒne	adolescent. (fem.)

(For orphan, masculine or feminine, widower, widow, see above, p. 26.)

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We go now to the system of parentage of the northern group (dialect c):

1.	uʼinko	father.
2.	hiʼmi	father's brother.
3.	naʼuko	mother, mother's sister.
4.	asiaʼtaba	father's sister.
5.	koʼdka	mother's brother, father of the spouse, father of the father or of the mother.
6.	ŝiʼrko	wife of the mother's brother, mother of the spouse, mother of the father or of the mother.
7.	taʼta	son, sister's son (w. s.), son of a "wife" (m. s.).
8.	taʼtero	daughter, sister's daughter (w. s.), daughter of a "wife" (m. s.).
9.	aʔinu	son or daughter of the sister (m. s.).
10.	táʼamero	son or daughter of the brother (w. s.).
11.	iaʔja	older brother or sister.
12.	śaβaʼni	younger brother or sister.
13.	iaʼtta	wife, daughter of the father's sister, daughter of the mother's sister.

601
184

14. tiimo.	husband, son of the father's sister, son of the mother's brother.
15. iopa.	sister's husband, wife's brother (m. s.).
16. iuitta.	brother's wife, husband's sister (w. s.).
17. iauitte.	daughter's husband, (f. p.), daughter's husband, "wife's" husband (m. s.).
18. inaiso.	brother's daughter (w. s.), sister's daughter (m. s.), when she is at the same time wife of the son (m. w. s.) or wife of the younger brother (m. s.).
19. iiqi.	daughter's children.
20. soeso.	son's child, or of the daughter when the latter is married to an uncle.
21. zda.	child (married to an uncle).

[17] [32] This vocabulary of relationships apparently does not offer any affinity linguistically with that of dialects a and b; and the structure of the system also seems different. Without doubt the fundamental principle—the marriage of cross-cousins—remains the same. To be convinced of this, it is sufficient to refer to the list of relatives designated by the terms tiimo and iatta. Again one finds the division of members of the same generation into sisters and wives (m. s.), or brothers and husbands (w. s.) on one side, and on the other, sisters and wives of brothers (w. s.), or brothers and husbands of sisters (m. s.). But the distinction here is more confused, since it is accompanied by an absence of symmetry concerning the designation of the brothers and sisters of parents, and the children of the brothers and sisters of the subject. Instead of finding the first divided into fathers and mothers, fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law, and the second into children, and sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, we have a more complicated terminology. The name of the father's sister (asiataba) differs from that of the wife of the mother's brother (siirko), although they are habitually confused in a system of marriage among bilateral cross-cousins. There is also a special name for the father's brother. But, if this latter is a younger brother who has one of his nieces, he will be called brother-in-law (iopa) by his brother's son, his nephew. Even more delicate is the naming of nephews and nieces because the symmetry carried on by the other systems between the children of brother (of a brother) and the children of sister (of a sister) fades out giving way to a new symmetry, this time between the children of sister (of a sister), and the children of the wife (classificatory) of the brother, who are called by the same name. Moreover, the children

601 born respectively from a brother and from a sister receive different
184 names according to whether they are the sons or daughter of a brother (of a sister), or sons or daughter of a sister (of a brother). Finally, it is no longer normally possible to identify the son-in-law (ŝiauiʔtte) and the daughter-in-law (ṣinaiʔŝo) with the nephew or the niece (cross-), and the ŝiuŝi, soeŝo (the same difference as the asuiʔttu, asuiʔte, and asuelisu or asuiarore of the preceding systems) do not correspond exactly to relatives of the third generation, or to the third degree.

601 These contrasts are clarified when one studies the forms of mar-
184 riage actually practiced. Of eight marriages, five are "horizontal,"
582 that is uniting a husband and wife coming from the same classificatory generation, and three are "oblique," the husband coming from the generation of his wife's mother:

C1 = c2 : brother's son and sister's daughter (horizontal);
C4 = c5 : husband's brother and wife's sister (horizontal);
C6 = c7 : mother's younger brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
C12 = c13 : mother's older brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
C16 = c17 : mother's younger brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
C20 = c8 : husband's sister and wife's older brother (horizontal);
C20 = c21 : husband's sister and wife's older brother (horizontal);
C29 = c28 : brother's son and sister's daughter (horizontal).

[33] In the absence of genealogical facts, one can even suppose that two of the marriages above, classed as "horizontal," are probably oblique, given the considerable difference in age between the husband and wife (C20 = c8, c21); such is often the case of children issued from "oblique" marriages. But even disregarding this possibility, the proportion of "oblique" relationships rises when one passes from marriages as such to the classificatory relationship of husband and wife. Thus C6, for example, calls "wife":

c2 : wife's sister;
c5 : sister of father's wife;
c7 : his own wife;
c8 : sister of father's wife;
c13: wife's sister;
c17: wife's sister;
c21: sister of father's wife;
c24: wife's sister;
c31: wife's sister;

there are actually three horizontal relationships and six oblique (directly or indirectly, through the already oblique position of the intermediary).

We have seen above that the "oblique" marriage is not unknown 601
in the eastern, central, southern and western groups. But it is not so 582
frequent there, and above all, the system of names does not take ac- 184
count of it. The problems resulting from this form of marriage are, then, resolved in two ways: either they preserve the names which have become contradictory, or they displace one or several individuals from the category of kinship to another. The method of the northern system is entirely different, for this is the system whose structure is accommodated to marriage between persons of different generations. (1) This new character is shown by a clearer distinction, within each generation, between the "elder" and the "younger": in place of four terms distinguishing the relative age and sex, there are only two, *iaia* and *sabâni*, which refer to age and apply indifferently to both sexes. Moreover, the term *sabâni* tends to have the general meaning of "young" or "little," and succeeds in specifying, from this point of view, whatever the kinship relationship is (2) implying thus that the quality of *sabâni* is equivalent to displacement to another generation. And actually, even though the older brother and the younger brother can equally claim to marry their sister's daughter, the older brother, even when married to his niece, will continue to be called *iaia* by [34] his wife's mother. On the other hand, in the same situation the younger brother sometimes passes to the rank of *ŝiauitte*; he is no longer considered as a brother, but as a son-in-law. Moreover, if the term *ŝiauitte* normally means a "horizontal" son-in-law, that is a cross-nephew married to a daughter, it is significant that a man calls *ŝiauitte* his younger brother, who has married a niece, and even a "wife"; and that a woman designates a younger brother married to a daughter in the same way, as has just been seen. Nevertheless, a man calls his cross-cousins (fem.) and his sisters' daughters indiscriminately *iatta* (wife), while distinguishing the husbands of his "wives" as *ŝiauitte* (horizontal son-in-law), *sabâni* (or *ŝiauitte*, replacing *sabâni*) and *iaia*.

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1. For the theoretical interpretation, it will be compared with the Miwok and Ao Naga systems, as we have analyzed them in another work. (*Les structures élémentaires de la parenté*, ch. 17 and 22.)

2. Cf. below, p. 37, text No. 1.

601 It might be considéred that these differences as regards the other
184 systems are purely formal. They bring on, however, some important
592 consequences. The preferential marriage between mother's brother and sister's daughter must introduce asymmetry between the children of the brother and those of the sister, thus justifying the use of different names in the two cases. For the same reason, one sees a shift of a classificatory generation appear between a woman who has married an uncle, and that of her parallel cousins. Here is a striking example:

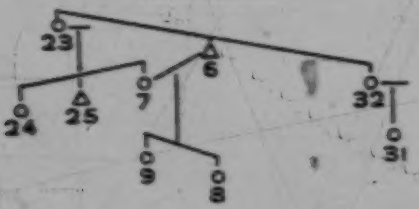

Fig. 10.

c23 calls C6 (in reality, sabãni) ŝiauĩtte; thus her daughter c24 calls him tĩrmo (husband), since he is married to her sister, c7, and their brother C25 calls him jõpa for the same reason. For c23, her granddaughters (and nieces at the same time) c8 and c9 are ŝiuŝi, called taãtero by the sister of the mother c24, and aişinu by the brother of the mother C25. But if one looks at it from the point of view of c31, the essential fact is not, as in the preceding cases, that C6 has married a daughter or a sister (here, a niece or a parallel cousin), but that he is the mother's brother. Consequently, she calls him koõka (father-in-law), and she calls the wife of C6 ŝiřko (mother-in-law), and the children of the latter become her ŝiuĩtta (sisters-in-law).

A double conclusion can be drawn from this analysis. In the first place, it must be remembered that in systems a and b the term for "older brother or sister" also means parallel cousins. Now we have just established that in the system of group c the parallel cousin can actually be displaced to a younger generation, and that such is the case when the marriage is of the "oblique" type. It may, therefore, be that the oblique marriage has occupied a more important place in systems a and b than is the case today. The second point is that the kinship system of group b, with its use of a special term for the brother or sister of the opposite sex, and its distinction [35] between the parents of spouses and the grandparents, takes an intermediary position

601 between systems *a* and *c*. It constitutes a sort of transition between
582 the simple, symmetrical and harmonious system of the eastern groups
184 and the more subtle and complex structure of the northern system.
This role corresponds well to the respective geographic positions occupied by the different groups.

CONCRETE STUDY OF THE GROUPS

601 The concrete functioning of the kinship systems previously analyzed has been studied in the following groups:

I. Eastern group (dialects *a*).

621 (1) Dialect *a 1*. —A group of 23 individuals composed of six men, nine women, and eight children. This group was found to be temporarily enlarged by the meeting, and sometimes even the temporary combining of bands, whose members present among themselves, and as concerns the first group, analogous kinship relationships. Thus, group (1) was found to be temporarily increased to the point of including 75 individuals (20 men, 30 women, and 25 children).

(2) Dialect *a2*. —Several small units each including 6 to 12 individuals.

II. South-central group (dialect *b1*).

A stable group of 17 individuals composed of five men, six women and six children, temporarily increased, by the meeting with relatives, to 31 individuals (13 men, 10 women, and 8 children).

III. Western group (dialect *b2*).

A group of 12 individuals composed of four men, five women, and three children.

IV. Northern group (dialect *c*).

A stable group of 34 individuals composed of 9 men, 11 women and 14 children.

128 The concrete study of the groups will be based on the eastern
114 group *a1* (restricted) and on the central group *b1* (restricted), the only ones with whom we have lived long enough to set forth a psychosociological analysis.

[36] Eastern group/ dialect a1: oakletosu (a1): yalkere (b1): yaliririte (c).

621 [161] This group, comprising 23 persons divided into six families, was found in the region of the Papagaio River (Utiarity) upon the occasion of one of its excursions in the nomad period. As we learned later, it was part of quite an important Indian community localized in several villages or camp sites in an unexplored zone of the right bank of the Juruena River, where we went, traveled and lived with them. The dry season and the period of nomadism does not seem to have been the only reason for the isolation of the group; some differences relating to command had seemingly provoked a break, grouping a certain number of individuals around an active and ambitious chief. We have, undoubtedly, been called on to play a semi-conscious role in this fight. We shall return to this point when we treat of command. However, the encounters of the group with other bands belonging to the same community have always been cordial. The meeting with a first band approximately restored the population of the winter village; and the strength of a neighboring village, found later on, increased the number to 75 persons, the largest number of Indians that we saw united in eight months.

[622]

[161]

As will be seen by the geneological chart opposite, the restricted group is composed of four generations, the oldest reduced to two individuals, the following being composed of "husbands" and "wives," "brothers," "sisters," "brothers-in-law" and "sisters-in-law." The third and the fourth, finally, constitute a complex mixture of children, sometimes at an early age, considered as "children" or "relatives," and of adults classed as "brothers," "sisters," "husbands," and "wives," and shifted to a generation younger than their normal one because of their situation as children of older brothers.

Before giving several quick pieces of information about each of the members of the group from the point of view of his situation in the kinship system and of his individual psychology, it is necessary to stop for a moment at the question of proper names.

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551 Proper names are never pronounced among the Nambikwara. A very strict prohibition forbids them and raises a nearly insoluble problem for the notation of genealogies, even though the taboo does not seem to be as rigorous for the dead as for the living. Nevertheless, one [37] never hears a proper name, and individuals call one another

551 either by simple exclamations:

hẽna (dialect a1): herõ (a2, b1, b2): "People!"; or by the kinship term

1. sabãni ɗ - uãĩnko (c): "Hey young one. —Father?"
2. ãiditmeiẽe mandõtiena takenaẽde kuikunjena uĩrige tãkenãẽ kuĩmkumenẽ (b1) (1): "The manioc is burnt; my brother

126 1. It is necessary to define more exactly the manner in which these texts, and those which follow, have been obtained. We have not had the aid of any interpreter. At the time of our stay there was only one, a Nambikwara Indian educated far from his own people by the Jesuit fathers, and whom unfortunately, we could not employ. The Indians in contact with the posts of the telegraph line use, in their relations with the Paressi or Brazilian employees, a sort of "sabir", formed about forty words, [198] one part Indian and the other Portuguese. This ingenious language, accompanied by numerous gestures, served as an introduction. At the end of about three months we had achieved a grossly empiric knowledge of Nambikwara itself, permitting us to make ourselves understood by the Indians, and more or less to follow a conversation. This result could not have been obtained without the tireless good will of the informants always ready to exchange words (Nambikwara for French or Portuguese) and to develop the obscure points by the use of an appropriate sign language. Working with these methods of chance we have both noted in passing fragments of conversation which were not addressed to us, and collected information by dictation. In both cases, the interpretation of the text was taken up again, afterwards, with the informants. It goes without saying that a meaning established in such a superficial way is not free from inaccuracies which sometimes may prove to be gross. We do not publish them for their literal meaning, often subject to caution, but rather because of the rough impression of indigenous life and atmosphere which they nevertheless aid to recreate. For the transcriptions, we are indebted to Mr. Paul L. Garvin for those which he established with the aid of our travel notes, and which he uses in his "Esquisse du système phonologique du Nambikwara-Tarunde," which appears in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, 1948.

551 scrapes it to eat it. Brother! Scrape!"

551 The Indians feel very strongly the inconvenience of the system,
177 especially when they are in contact with the whites. Those among them who intermittently frequent the posts of the Rondon Line have very rapidly adopted the Brazilian names which they hear pronounced around them, and they are—or have been—baptized Julio, José Maria, Luiza, Iracema, etc., giving these surnames some strange distortions. Sometimes too, there are nicknames like Lebre (lièvre = rabbit), Assucar (sucre = sugar) or Cavaignac (the shape of beard worn by the famous general). Several Indians have preserved this last name, thus perpetuating in the backwoods the memory of the time when Rondon lived and flourished.

We could use these names to designate them in the course of this study, or also their real names insofar as we have been able, in certain cases, to restore them. But these Brazilian names are only carried by the small minority of Indians who are in contact with the posts of the Rondon Line; [38] and the authentic names are lacking to us in a great number of cases. At any rate, the process would not be true to reality. For the remarkable point is that, in daily life, one does not hear a single name pronounced. It thus seems to us more in
128 conformance with the indigenous atmosphere to refrain, in the course
551 of this work, from using names to designate individuals, and we shall content ourselves with symbols indicating the sex, the group, and the place in the group of the individual considered (for each group, respectively A, B, C; capital letter for a man, small letter for a woman, followed by a figure identifying the subject.)

551 Nevertheless, as has just been indicated, it has been possible for
124 us, for group a1, to collect a complete list of names. This is how: one day when we were playing with a group of children, one of the little girls was struck by a playmate. She came immediately to take refuge near us, and began, in a very mysterious manner, to murmur something in our ears which we did not understand, and which we were obliged to have repeated for us several times, so that the adversary realized the trick, and, apparently furious, came in turn to reveal what appeared to be a solemn secret. After several hesitations and questions, the interpretation of the incident left no doubt. The first little girl had come, out of revenge, to give us the name of her enemy, and when the latter saw this, she told us the name of the other one, as a means of reprisal. From this moment on, it was very easy, if not very scrupulous, to arouse the children against one another, and to obtain from each of them the name of all the others. After this, a little complicity thus having been created, they gave us the

551 124 names of the adults without too much difficulty. When the latter found out our secret meetings, the children were harshly reprimanded, and the source of our information cut off. However, during a moment of great confidence one day, A1 gave us the names of her parents and great-grandparents, so that at the end of the account the list of proper names covers a total of five generations:

551 601	1.	Mother of the mother of A1	Arigudadusu.
	2.	Father of the father of A1	Itirilisu, Irigudusu.
	3.	Mother of the father of A1	Etuauglugluśu.
	4.	Father of the mother of A1	Igluikulusu.
	5.	Father of A1	Arakudadusu.
	6.	Mother of A1	Tuuuarusu.
	7.	A1	(missing)
	8.	a2	Guenderesu.
	9.	a3	Uaiterekaneru.
	10.	a4	Uaarakaneru.
	11.	Mother of a4	Uaarasu.
	12.	Father of a4	Nisuanirusu.
	13.	a5	Guenderekineru.
[39]	14.	A6	Tairiisu.
	15.	a7	Nariisu, Niãniaikinere.
	16.	a8	Tairikineru.
	17.	a9	Tairikineru.
	18.	A10	Nikloerekinedetu.
	19.	a11	Seliʔitirokaisu.
	20.	a12	Seliʔitikineru.
	21.	A13	Tareesakaresu.
	22.	a14	Njoselese.
	23.	A15	Nikakitasu.
	24.	A16	Njoselesekiraru.
	25.	A17	Kajakaresu.
	26.	a18	Sonaasakaresu.
	27.	a19	Sonaasakaneru.
	28.	a20	Sonaasakarikiritasu, Kjatorekineru.
	29.	A21	Karloleșu.
	30.	a22	Itatânjedetu, Idonerekineru.
	31.	a23	Kjedikitasu, Kuetitodesukineru, Karlokineru.

551 As seen by the list, two categories of names exist. The adults possess a name of their own. The children are named after their parents—son, or daughter, of so and so. The name used in this case is usually that of the mother (a5/a12 (but who is not a child), A16/a19/a20): but not always: a8 and a9, whose mother is dead, are both called after their father, daughters of Tairiŕsu. As concerns a23, who is a little baby, a wide divergence manifests itself among our informants (it must not be forgotten that they are children, and that their information is uncertain), and the name of Karlókineru, daughter of Karlólesu, her father, has been taken even though her mother is living. But, as will be seen farther on, during our stay A21, a22, and a23 are confused in the same borderline way. On the other hand, the fact that the names of Kiatorékineru and of Idonerékineru could be chosen for a20 and a22 suggests that they are not the daughters of a18, but parallel cousins of her daughters. If such is not the case, the two names may be part of a collection, or have been attributed wrongly to their supposed holders.

[553 881] Adolescents receive their names from the chief at the moment of puberty. The name giving is a point to which we shall return later on. The fact that certain adults are designated on our list by a technical term is undoubtedly explained by the fact that our informants did not know their true names. Nevertheless, it must be noticed that, in the two cases being discussed, a12 is a pregnant woman and a22 a woman who is nursing a child. Both are submitted to complex prohibitions. A special prohibition rests perhaps on the name of individuals placed in certain situations.

[40] Whatever the case may be, these are the only names which we have been able to obtain and, regarding the prohibition which covers them, in the course of this report, we will not use them more than they are used in the daily life of the Nambikwara Indians. We shall now give some information concerning the individuals composing the group studied.

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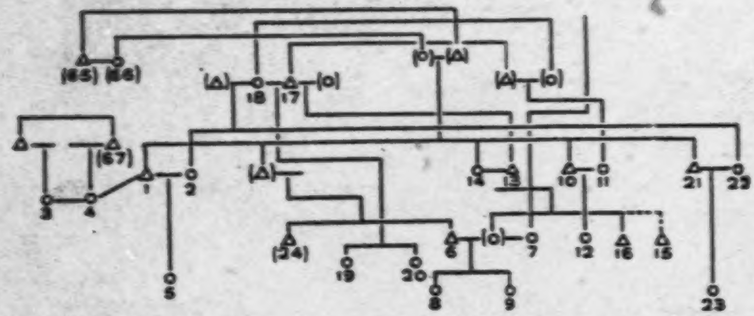

Fig. 11.
Genealogical composition of group a1.

622 A1.--The chief of the group. He is a man of about 35 years,
115 married to three women: a2, by whom he has a daughter a5, and
157 a3 and a4, both daughters of "sister," without child.

A1 is remarkably intelligent, conscious of his responsibilities, active, enterprising and ingenious. When we went to visit his village, he did not hesitate to follow a new itinerary, unknown to him, because our horses could not pass along the habitual path. And when we arrived at the village, we found the stakes necessary to tie our oxen and horses, which he had had set up by a party sent a few hours ahead of time.

His attitude concerning writing is very revealing. He immediately understood his role of signing (1), and the social superiority which it

531 1. The Nambikwara of group a are completely
212 ignorant of drawing, if one excepts a few geometric tracings on gourds. For several days they did not know what to do with the paper and pencils which we distributed to them. A little later, we saw them deeply engrossed in tracing wavy lines. In doing this they were imitating the only use which they had seen us make of our note pads, that is, for writing, but without understanding the purpose and significance.

531
212 Besides, they called the act of writing: !ekariukediutu (a1), that is "make lines," which for them had an esthetic interest:

(3) Kihikagnere mũʔiene (b1).
It is nice to make lines.

[77] The drawings reproduced in Figure 19 thus constitute a cultural innovation inspired by our own drawings.

622 confers; also [41] he asked us for a note pad and a pencil, and we
115 are likewise equipped when we travel together. He does not com-
157 municate to me verbally the information that I ask of him, but traces on his paper some wavy lines and presents them to me as though I should read his response. But he himself is half duped by his comedy. Each time that his hand finishes a line, he examines it anxiously, as if the significance should miraculously spring forth, and each time, the same chagrined disillusion is painted on his face. But he doesn't give in. And it is silently understood between us that his scrawl possesses a meaning which I pretend to understand. Naturally, the verbal commentary follows almost immediately, and excuses me from having to demand some very necessary clarifications. When we discuss command, we shall return to certain aspects of this semi-mystification.

He is a valuable informant who understands the problems, perceives the difficulties, and is interested in the work; but his functions absorb him often, and he disappears for whole days on a hunting expedition, a survey of itinerary or a localization of ripe seed or fruit trees. On the other hand, his wives often call him to tender love games in which he lets himself be voluntarily involved.

In a general way, his attitude shows a logic, a continuity of purpose, very exceptional among the Nambikwara who are often unstable and temperamental. Placed in other conditions and with other means at his disposal, he might be a valuable organizer. And he is, after all, alone responsible for the destinies of his group, which he conducts with competence, although in a sometimes utopian spirit.

The father and the mother of A1 are dead. But his father's brother and mother's sister, whom he calls ahųĩnosu and aʔkẽnosu live in the same village (A65 and a66).

115 a2.--About 30 to 35 years. The eldest of the wives of A1, mother of a5, daughter of a18 and a now dead father. She is serious industrious, a little reserved in social relations. In the triple household

In the triple household
115 of A1, she plays the role of the guardian of the home, and she is al-
[595] ways seen occupied in some culinary or craft job. She reveals
157 little voluntarily, but when she decides to do it, her information is clear and precise. It is always to her that one has recourse to settle knotty cases, to complete a vocabulary of kinship, to respond to a systematic interrogation.

115 a3. --Vigorous girl of some twenty years, secondary wife of A1.
157 Her mother (a63), arĩndesu of A1, akenãnosu of a2, is at present married to an asukosu of A1. Her father, dead, was a brother of the father of a4.

She is exuberant, always good-humored, ready to go with her husband on the hardest expeditions, capable of carrying heavy loads. She is a true "force of nature": physically, she is not without [42] charm, she is smiling and full of good health. As an informant she is vague, practically useless.

a4. --About 17 or 18 years of age, the youngest of the wives of A1. Her father and her mother (A67 and a68) are living, asoũnosu and a2ẽnosu of A1, ouẽnsaesu and aseẽtasu of a2. She is pretty, coquettish and provocative, does not give herself over to any appreciable activity, except on a trip when she becomes the active collaborator of her husband. She talks voluntarily, laughs a great deal, is very curious about our clothing, utensils, manner of eating and living. Totally inefficient as an informant.

a5. --Eight to 9 years. Daughter of A1 and a2. She has a very
[142] marked sub-nasal prognathism, and has, on the left cheek, a sort of small pimply hole, without doubt due to a tropical ulcer. She is a very calm and amiable child, sensitive to our advances, but who, when she is annoyed, shows sudden fits of anger or outbursts of somber humor during which she is unapproachable. The rest of the time she loves [illegible] company and collaborates willingly on the ethnographic work.

A6. --About 30 years: he is the son of an older vanished brother of A1; he calls his paternal uncle "father," the wife a2 of the latter, "mother," and the little a5 "sister." From a first marriage with the daughter of his father's sister (a14), now dead, he has two children (a8 and a9). He is at present remarried (to a7). Otherwise he is vain, satisfied with himself, not very intelligent, a very good father and very taken with his young wife with whom he is always found tenderly embraced. He is a verbose informant, but dull and without personality.

115 a7. --A pretty woman of some twenty years, perhaps less; young
157 wife of A6. Her parents are living and reside, she says, in the village.
She is asintu of A1 and a2, arindesu of a3 and a4, aseétasu of
a5. She is stupid, egotistical, interested only in herself. She considers
herself very seductive, which appears to be (from the Indian
point of view, of course) very exaggerated. She systematically refuses
to show the slightest interest in the two daughters of her husband,
conducts herself very amorously as concerns him.

115 a8 and a9--About six and two years, daughters of the first marriage
855 of A6 and daughters of the deceased daughter of a14. The two
157 children are practically left to themselves. Their stepmother does
not bother with them; their father takes care of them when his manly
tasks and his wife permit him the time. Their grandmother is their
[603] chief aid and it is to her that they run when they hurt themselves,
are hungry, thirsty or afraid. But she herself is absorbed by the cares
of her sons, of her stepson (A15) and of her husband. And very often
the baby is neglected for entire days, covered with ashes and filth,
unless some woman of the group, seized by pity or simply [43] disgusted,
takes her and gives her a bath. Most often it is her big
sister, precociously mature, who takes care of her, carries her, even
though she is scarcely any bigger, feeds her and cleans her up. Both
are charming children, gay and hungry for caresses like those who
are habitually deprived of them. Their lot is a great worry for the
[181] community. Under this regime of a hard life constantly absorbed by
the small tasks, each one of which is hard work, one can with difficulty
accept other cares than one's own. And these neglected
children are a perpetual source of irritation, of which they are often
the victims, even when taken care of. Many times we wondered if
we should not take charge of the youngest of the children. They
would have given her to us gladly. uThe baby was so cute that we
would have been tempted if the perspective of seeing ourselves
having a quarrel on the return trip with the Service for the Protection
of the Indians had not, very reasonably, dissuaded us.

115 A10. --About 40 years. He is alónsu of A1, ajų́nkedisu of a2,
157 ahųĩnosu of a5, married to a11. His parents are dead. He is amiable
and grinning, he suffers from a hernia which he hides under a piece
of cloth hanging from his waist. His activity is considerably decreased.
He is little interested in our work and not very eager to
understand our questions and give us information.

a11. --About 40 years. Wife of A10. She is a "sister" of a2, a "wife" of A1, a "mother" of a5. She is dark, eager and industrious,

115 and only reveals her happy nature on occasions of songs and dances where
157 she excels. One always sees her occupied by some craft work which
she seems to prefer—shaping or polishing disks of shells, drilling them
through or filing them, rubbing earrings or bracelets. She talks
little, letting herself be completely absorbed by her work. She is
a wife and mother, and a remarkable informant for all details of
the material culture.

a12.--Daughter of the preceding two, approximately 22 years;
she is the wife of A73 who abandoned her to live with two women
a74 and a75. Because of this, she returned to the charge of her
parents, the more so because she is pregnant. She is placid, smiling
and apathetic. She is separated from collective life by her condition
[164] and by a painful eye infection which struck her first among the members of her group of which several were later attacked by the epidemic.

A13.--About 40 years of age. Son of A18, "brother," consequently, of a2, "brother-in-law" of A1, whose older sister a14 he married. Always joyful, active and docile, he is the confidence man of A1, his preferred messenger, the companion he chooses for all complicated undertakings. He is industrious, a [44] not affected in his attitudes, and, as an informant, compliant, very verbose and not always clear or comprehensive.

a14.--About 40 to 45 years. Wife of the preceding, blood sister of A1, mother of A16. She is influential, active, diligent, at first quite rude, but in reality pleasing and competent. She exercises real authority over the other women of the group by her spirit of initiative and her pep. She is the grandmother of a8 and of a9 whom she feeds and whom she cares for frequently. Not only is she a good informant, but she sometimes takes didactic initiative. She loves songs and dances.

[608] A15.--About 15 years. He is an orphan; his father was the brother of A13 who took him in. A gentle, tranquil, rather timid boy.

A16.--7 or 8 years; son of A13 and of a14, "husband" of a5. He is a lively and curious child; his mother rarely refuses him anything, and he tyrannizes her willingly. She is very proud of him and overlooks many of his whims. One day she came to ask us to teach him to read. The attempts are not very encouraging. He looks upon the lessons as a game and refuses to learn the letters as determined forms; for him they are interchangeable, and he attributes to them in turn all the sounds which he has in his vocabulary.

115 A17.--Between 50 and 55 years, he is the dean of the group; he
157 is conscious of this and gets a certain pride from having around him
602 only "sons" or "daughters," "sons-in-law" and "daughters-in-law,"

115 grandchildren and great-grandchildren. He is physically robust,
157 amiable, happy and talkative; very much inclined toward erotic
602 jokes. He gives information willingly, with an extreme good will and a tireless volubility. But his explanations are not always clear, and it is necessary to let oneself be guided by his slightly incoherent fantasy.

115 a18.--About 45 years; wife of the preceding, mother of a2 and
157 a22. She is a serious woman, industrious, devoted to her husband and children. She laughs little, talks to herself, and is always busy with some task. Her bits of information are rare, but solid.

a19.--About 10 years. Daughter of the two preceding. She is a very pretty girl, still a child who yet scarcely shows the first signs of puberty. She has in the group a position as "mother," as does her little sister a20. She is a brutal and sometimes violent child, who adopted towards us an attitude confined to hostility. Her language is crude and she gets involved willingly in the most daring pranks. This attitude is at least partially explained, as will be seen farther on, by her age situation.

[45] a20.--Little girl of 5 or 6 years, sister of the preceding: her contemporaries and even some adults call her "mother." She is perfectly insufferable; pretentious, affected, continually greedy for presents or distractions.

A21, a22, a23.--It is difficult to characterize these three individuals who lived, during nearly the whole time of our visit, in an almost absolute state of silent segregation. The baby a23 is not yet weaned, and the state of couvade was to end at the end of our stay. We shall describe later on the operations which sanction return to communal life. A21, 35 to 40 years, is the brother of A1; a22, about 18 years, the sister of a2. A21 was to die by drowning during one of our absences. The baby is 12 to 18 months old.

621 As we have said before, the restricted group such as it has just been described, is temporarily united with other similar bands, or is temporarily swelled by other family groups. Thus to the 6 "fires"(1)

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602 1. As the following analysis shows, the family group—that is the restricted group—of the Nambikwara is rather difficult to define. The empiric notion of the hearth seems to us the most clear and practical. It defines the grouping of the individuals who come together in the evening and sleep around the same fire. In group a1 (restricted) studied previously, there are

602 from this point of view, six fires, namely: I (1 to 5); II (6 to 9); III (10 to 12); IV (13 to 16); V (17 to 20); VI (21 to 23).

621 comprising the stable group are added intermittently:

Fire 7 (24 to 28). Five individuals, including: A24, "son" (of an elder brother) of A1 (20 to 25 years), husband of a25 (18 to 20 years), their baby a26 (about 2 years), the father A27 (about 50 years) of a25, and the brother A28 (about 12 years) of the latter.

Fire 8 (29 to 37). --Eight individuals including: A32, chief of the group comprised of fires 7, 8 and 9. About 40 years of age, asúkosu of A1; his five wives, a33, a34, a35, a36, "sisters" of each other (18 to 25 years), and their "mother" a37 (about 40 years), besides the 3 children of this latter, a30 and A31 (8 to 11 years) and a29 (about 2 years).

Fire 9 (39 to 41). --Four individuals, that is, two households, whose kinship relationships are obscure. A38 (about 50), "brother" of a2, and his wife a39 (about 45), "sister" of A1; and A40 (about 30), "brother" of A1, and his wife a41 (about 30), "sister" of a2, the two latter "father" and "mother" of a5.

Fire 10 (42 to 47). -- Six persons, including: A42 (about 30 years old), asúkosu of A1; his two wives, the one a43 (about 35 years old), "sister" of A1, and the other a44 (about 18 years old), "niece" of A1, and three children, A45 and A46 (9 to 12) and a47 (2 to 3 years).

[46] Fire 11 (48 to 50). --Three individuals: A48, "brother" of A1 and "husband" of a2 (about 35 years old), his wife a49 (about 35 years old), "wife" of A1 and "sister" of a2. They are consequently "father" and "mother" of a5, and their child a50 is her "sister" (3 to 4 years old).

Fire 12 (51 to 56). --Six persons: A51 (about 40 years old), "brother" of A1 and ajúkedisu of a2, his wife a52, "sister" of a2 (about 40), and four children, a53 (14 years old) and A54, a55 and A56 (6 to 10 years old).

Fire 13 (57 to 61). --Five persons: A57 (about 45), brother of A69, and asúkosu of A1, "older brother" of a2; his two wives, one a58, "sister" of A1, the other a59, his "daughter" (20 to 30 years old), and two children, A60 and A61 (3 and 7 years old), both "husbands" of a5.

Fire 14 (62 to 66). --Five persons: A62 (about 42 years old), asúkosu of a1 and akenánosu of a2, his wife a63, "sister" of A1 and of a58, and mother of a3 (about 40 years old), their child a64 (about 5)

621 and two persons whom A1 calls "father" and "mother", A65 (about 50 years old) and a66 (about 50), who live in the home of their "daughter" a63.

Fire 15 (67 to 70). --Four persons form two households: A67 "husband" of a2 and called asoĩnosu by A1 because he is the father of his wife a4, and a68, aseẽtasu of a2, but called aʔẽinosu by A1 because she is the mother of his other wife. And A69 (about 28 years old), "brother" of A42 and asũkosu of A1, married to a70 (about 25), undetermined parentage.

Fire 16 (71 and 72). --A71 (about 30 years old), "brother" of A28 and his wife a72 (about 20 years old), "daughter" of A13 and a14.

Fire 17 (73 to 75). --A73 (about 30 years old), former husband of a12 whom he abandoned, and his two wives a74 and a75 (20 to 25 years old), "sisters" of a5.

* * * *

RULES OF RESIDENCE

591 621 The phenomena of spatial distribution do not seem to have special significance in the essentially nomadic groups. Nevertheless, we shall give the plan of distribution of the families in the nomadic camp (chart I), and in the winter village (chart II) for the restricted group, and the plan of distribution of the families or of the fires in semi-permanent camp for the most numerous combination (chart III). [47]

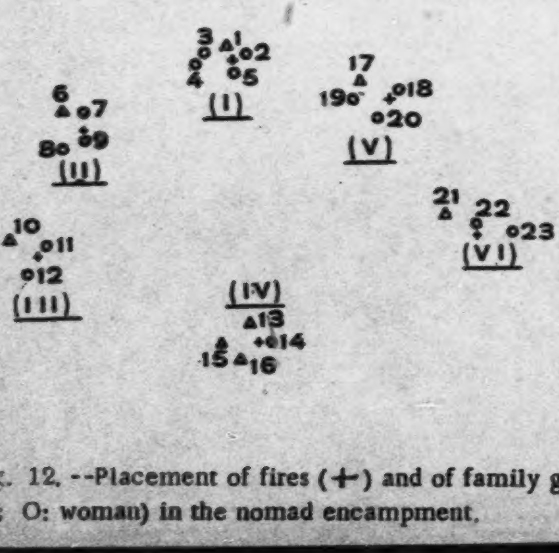

Fig. 12. --Placement of fires (+) and of family groups (△: man; O: woman) in the nomad encampment.

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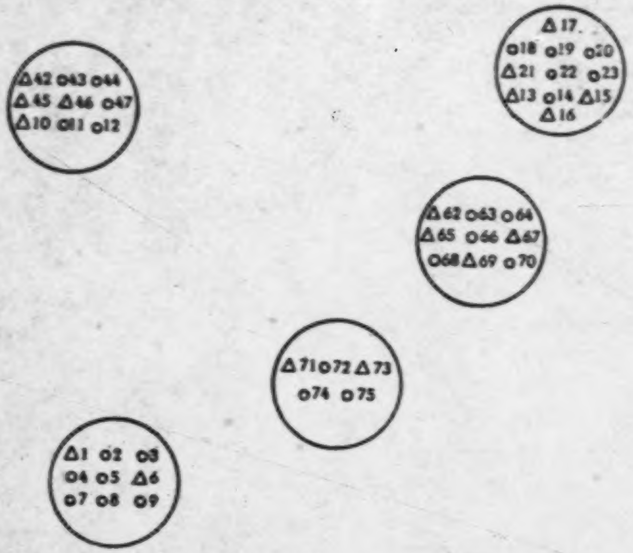

Fig. 13. --Grouping of families in the huts of the winter village.

The examination of these charts calls for several remarks.

(1) The nomadic camp generally obeys fixed rules for the distribution of individuals around the "fires," but not for the distribution of the "fires" in space. Fires 1 to 6 are not distributed in [48] the same way in the nomadic camp (I)[1] and in the general camp (III).[1] In fact, in the latter case, the families arrived one after the other, traveling in groups of two or three, or separately, and came to occupy the available sites. Nevertheless, when the restricted group travels in a single block, its camp is generally in conformance with the distribution given in chart I, which reproduces a camp maintained for one month.

(2) The distribution of the camp fires does not reproduce the distribution of families in the huts of the winter village. However, one will observe that the members of fires 1 and 2, who occupy one and the same hut, camp side by side in chart I, and around the same fire in chart III [49] (but, at this moment, A6 is absent and his family rejoins the fire of his "father"). In the same way, fires 4, 5, and 6, placed side by side in chart I, live together during the winter camping (chart II); but in this latter case, there is a complete separation at the time of the general meeting. It is true that at this moment, A21 has just died, his wife and his baby have rejoined the maternal

[1] [I refers to Fig. 12 and III refers to Fig. 14. —Analyst]

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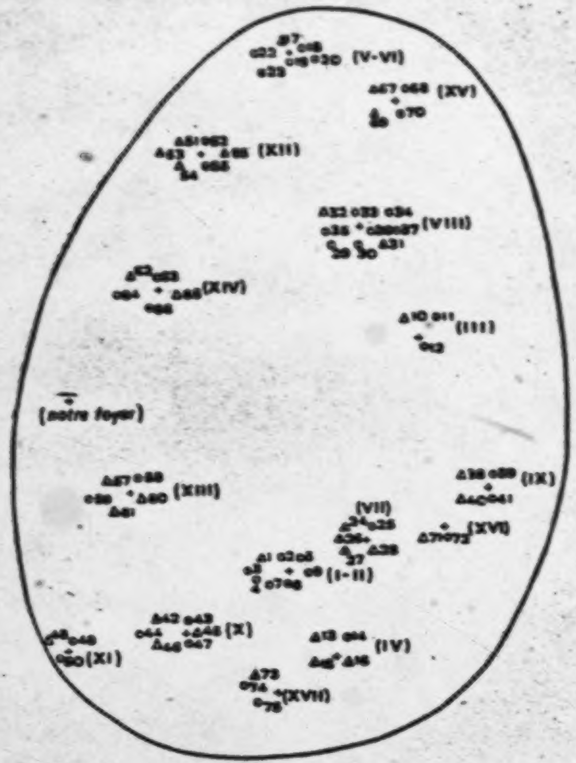

Fig. 14.--Distribution of Families in Temporary Residence.

fire, and the group of six persons has arrived late at the reunion, after an isolated trip. Fires 16 and 17, united at the winter camp (II), are completely isolated in camp (chart III); the same for fires 14 and 15 and for fires 3 and 10.

[24] (3) Since several families join around the same fire, it does not seem possible to deduce any rules of residence, which seems to confirm the impossibility of obtaining from the informants a clear answer to the question of whether the young couples establish themselves separately after marriage, or remain near the parents of the wife or the husband. In two cases, we see the daughters rejoin their parents fire: a12, abandoned by her husband, and a22 at the time of her widowhood. During the winter camp, the household of fire 4 resides with the parents of the husband; and household 6 with the wife's parents (fire 8 in the two cases). Likewise at this time, fire 2 is installed in the hut of the husband's "father." Finally, in two cases, one sees parents, unfit for the economic battle because of age or widowhood, installed at their daughter's fire, as A65 and a66, and

591 A27 with his son A28. All this offers a very confusing spectacle,
621 and it is not the only case among the Nambikwara where the sociologist feels discouraged from deducing fixed rules. In a case such as that of the rules of residence, the answers of the Indians and the study of the facts might lead one to conclude that these rules do not exist, but such a conclusion should not be accepted except with the most extreme reservations. We shall be forced from time to time to insist on the fact that, in a society whose demographic base is broken up in a very short space of time, the traditional rules might be clouded by the necessity of solving cases which have become individual and concrete by force of things. Among peoples who live under such strenuous conditions, a certain distribution in elementary associations of individuals of different sex and age might be decisive to assure the means of existence for each of them. Many family combinations seem thus to result from immediate necessities. It could also be that the rules exist, and are based on sociological
181 reasons which escape us. A society made up of wandering bands which one never finds again with the same composition after a few weeks interval because certain members or families have left it, while others have come to join up; whose camps never offer the same exact distribution from day to day; whose winter huts are most
[609] often destroyed during the dry season; who flee one another, chase one another off, attack each other in frequent conflicts, and about which the least one can say is that in periods of peace, they avoid one another; whose [50] material culture, reduced to the strict minimum, puts into use only rudimentary techniques where social differentiations cannot be expressed; such a society offers to the sociologist ever-changing material, that is fleeting and often cannot be grasped. In very numerous cases, its laws of organization escape analysis and, supposing that they exist, could not be discovered except on the occasion of an extended visit, not only during the period of the nomadic life, but also of the sedentary life.

621 Central and southern group, dialect b1: tarũnde, maimãde (b1); mamãindeti (c) oãindesu, nik[illegible]detosu (a1).

We have divided the encampment of the two groups b1 and c. The latter is composed of 17 persons divided into five fires. Both
[101 were wandering in the zone of the line of the separation of waters
131] between the Tapajoz and the Madeira (Vilhena Rivers). We shall

621 We shall comment later (1) on the complex motives that might have induced

1. Cf. p. 77.

[197] these two bands, speaking different dialects and who were not even capable of understanding one another without an interpreter, to practically merge. It seems that group bl was composed of the rare survivors of a formerly important formation now disappeared, living previously in two distinct groups, around the sources of the eastern tributaries of the Roosevelt River. We have already tried to calculate these losses, resulting from recent epidemics (2). Group c had,

2. Cf. above, p. 6.

without doubt, gone through the same hardships. Moreover, its
[578] position had been compromised by antagonisms with other bands rising from the same dialect, and who had formerly been their allies. A visit, with a commercial goal, of related Indians originally from the south (members of the group known by the name of Kabisi) must have raised the forces of group bl to 31 persons for
621 several days. Here is its composition at this moment:
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Fire 1 (1 to 7). - [illegible]he family of the chief of the band. The chief, B1, is 30 to 3[illegible]ears old, and one of the most intelligent Indians whom it was [illegible] privilege to encounter. But he is intelligent in a way very differe[illegible]rom A1. The latter is prudent and very resourceful, always meditating some political combination. On the contrary, B1 is not a man of action, but rather contemplative, with a charming and poetic spirit, and rich sensibilities. He is fully conscious of the inevitable decadence of his people, and this conviction often shades his words with a subtle tint of melancholy:

(4) joãmditnʔẽ njãnajne hẽni niho ãmdednjẽn. (bl)

"I also did the same thing, now it is finished," [51] he says, remembering happier days when his group, far from being reduced to a handful of individuals incapable of keeping alive their traditional customs, was comprised of several hundreds of participants faithful to all the manifestations of the Nambikwara culture. His curiosity toward our customs and towards those which we had been able to observe in other tribes is just as great as ours. With him, ethnographic work is never unilateral. He conceives of it only as an exchange of information, and what we bring him is always very welcome. Often
[17] he even asks us for—and preserves carefully—drawings representing

621 feather ornaments, hair styles, arms, such as we have seen among
115 neighboring or faraway peoples. Did he entertain the hope of per-
157 fecting the material and intellectual equipment of his group thanks
622 to this information? It is possible, even though his dreamy tempera-
177 ment hardly ever drives him to realizations. However, one day when
601 we were interrogating him concerning the Pan pipes, to verify the
area of diffusion of that instrument, he answered that he had never
[537] seen any, but that he would like to have a drawing (different from
group a, group b does not have real pipes of Pan, but instruments
made of two or three tubes of equal length and giving approximately
the same note, tied together with cotton thread and wax). With the
aid of our sketch he succeeded in making a crude but usable instrument.

621 601 B1 had two wives: b2, about 25 years, mother of two little girls of 5 to 7 years, b4 and b5: and b3, older than he (about 40 years old), mother of a boy of 7 years, B6, and of a girl of 9 years, b7.

Fire 2 (8 and 9).--A son of a deceased brother of B1, whom the latter then calls "son" (about 25 years old), and his wife about 18, sister of B13; no information about the father and mother.

Fire 3 (10 to 12).--B10 is a brother of B8, and B1 calls him "son" also. His wife, b11, of undetermined parentage, is about 20 years old, and his daughter b12 about 6.

Fire 4 (13 and 14).--This household presents the only sure case of oblique marriage in group b1. B13, about 25 years, married a girl of 16 or 17, b14, daughter of a dead son of the dead brother of B1; he calls her then, as seen before, tasuite.

Fire 5 (15 to 17).--These three individuals are the last survivors of a related group destroyed by an epidemic. After the disaster, they joined the band of B1. B15, about 35 years, is the brother of b2, thus tarute of B1. His wife, the same age, b16, is a sister of B1, thus ndedere of b2. Their son, B17, is about 5. The daughters of B1 call him (B17) "husband," and he calls them "wives."

621 574 601 [52] The visitors.--They came from the region lying between the sources of the tributaries of the left bank of the Juruena and of those of the right bank of the Guaporé. All were related to their hosts, and were distributed among three generations. The oldest was comprised of three individuals: B18, about 50 years old, father of B21, B25, B27, and B29: his wife b19, the same age, paternal aunt of B1; and the brother of the wife, B20, 40 years. Besides the children of B18 already mentioned (from 20 to 30 years old), the next

621 generation is composed of b26, wife of B25 (about 20 years); of the
574 husband of b29, B28 (about 25); of the wife, b22, of B21 (same age);
601 of his brother B24 (20 years), both children of a deceased sister of B18; and of a widower of about 40 years, B30, brother of B15 and of b2, who had been married to a sister of B1. The young generation is represented by only two children, b23, about 7 years, daughter of B21 and b22, and b31, about 10 years, daughter of B30, mother dead. For the whole picture of genealogical relationships, the reader should refer to Figure 15.

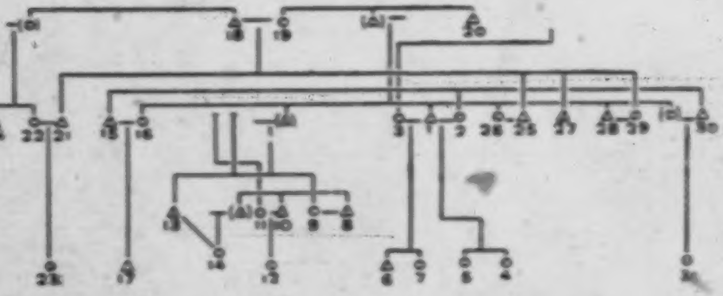
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Fig. 15.

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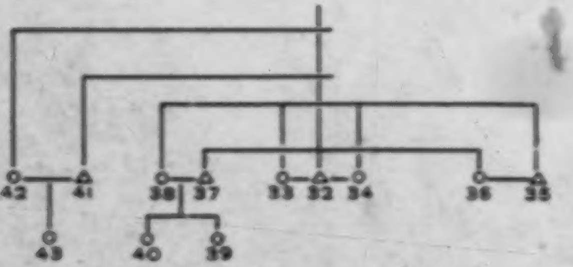
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Fig. 16.

[58] *Western group*, dialect *b2*: *tajate*, *lakõnde* (*b1/2*): *souaiũte* (*c*).

We shall limit ourselves to giving the genealogical scheme of the composition of this little group (Figure 16), found, only for several days, toward the line of the division of the waters which separate the basins of the Roosevelt and the Gi-Parana (*Tres Buritis*). Its members seem to be the survivors of a formerly important group, the *tajte*.

Northern group, dialect *c*: *sabãne* (*c*); *tamaĩnde* (*b1/2*): *toãtesu* (*a 1/2*).

[N7] We have not been able to establish the genealogical composition of this group for reasons of linquistic difficulties (dialect *c* does not seem to spring from the same family as the others) and because of the consecutive impossibilities which we encountered in determining the true position in the system of individuals designated by the same term. We shall thus content ourselves with an analysis by households.

Fire 1 (*1* to *3*).--*C1*, about 30 years, and his wife *c2*, 25 years; he, "brother" of *C6*, she, "daughter" of *c23*; their son, *C3*, is about 10 years old.

Fire 2 (*4* and *5*).--*C4*, 40 years, is the younger brother of *C20* and of *c23*; his wife *c5*, 25 to 30 years, is called "wife" by *C6*, "older sister" by *c21*, and "daughter" by *c23*.

Fire 3 (*6* to *10*).--We have already analyzed (1) the kinship situation of *C6*, of his wife *c7* (both are 30), and of their children *c8* and *c9* (6 to 8 years); the younger brother of the wife, *C10*, about 10 years, lives with them.

Fire 4 (*11* to *14*).--*C11* is 50 odd years old; he is called "elder brother" by *C6*, *C4*, *C15*, *C20*, and *c23*; his wife *c12*, about 35 years, is "daughter" of *c23*; the young brother of the latter, *C14*, about 17 years, unmarried, lives with them as well as their daughter of 7 years, *c13*.

Fire 5 (*15* to *18*).--*C15*, about 30 years, is called "younger brother" by *C20* and *c23*; his wife *c16* is "daughter" of *c23*; she has a young brother *C17*, about 12 years, and a baby of some 20 months, *c18*.

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1. Pp. 33 to 35.

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[754] Fire 6 (19 to 22). --The chief, or rather, it seems, the shaman of group c, is 30 to 40 years old, "brother" of c23. His dispositions are friendly and mysterious. We shall encounter him farther on (2). He has two wives, c19 and [54] c21, very pretty girls of 17 or 18 years, "sisters" of the dead husband of c23. Here we have, then, a good example of sororal polygyny. The second woman has a little boy of 3 years, C22.

Fire 7 (23 to 25). --The woman, c23, is over 40; she is a widow and seems to enjoy great consideration. Her numerous "brothers" provide for her as well as her children, and like C20, she is apt to receive supernatural revelations (1). She has a son, C25, about 14 years old, and a daughter, c24, about 10. Concerning them, refer to page 34.

Fire 8 (26 and 27). --A young couple of about 18, whose parents must be dead and whom the elders of the group call "grandchildren."

Fire 9 (28 to 30). --C28, about 25 years, is a "son" of C6; his wife, c29 is older than he (over 40); she is called "daughter" by c19 and c21, although they are by far younger than she; her daughter c30 is about 2 years old.

Fire 10 (31 to 33). --c32, about 40 years old, is a younger sister of c23; she has two daughters: the eldest, c31, about 17, is married; the younger, c33, still a baby. The husband and her son-in-law are absent; they are said to be on a trip together. The group sees to the needs of the two women.

It is suitable to add a visitor to this list, C34, about 30 years old. [579] He is the brother of c12 and, during his stay, he receives the hospitality of household number 4.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS

Husbands and Wives

593 To understand well the attitude of the two sexes as concerns one another, it is indispensable to keep in mind the fundamental character

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2. P. 103.

1. Cf. p. 101.

593 of the couple among the Nambikwara. It is the economic and psycho-
593 logical unit par excellence. Not only among errant bands which are
182 made and unmade unceasingly does the couple appear as the only
462 stable reality (at least theoretically), but it is the couple alone which assures the subsistence of the members of the group. The Nambikwara live under a double economy: the economy of hunters and gardeners on one hand, the economy of collectors and gatherers on the other. The first is assured by the man, the second by the woman. While the masculine group departs for a whole day to hunt, armed with bows and arrows, or works in the gardens during the rainy season, the women, armed with digging implements, wander with their children across the plain, and gather, pull out, pick, capture, seize [55] everything on their route that is worthy of serving as food: grain, fruits, berries, roots, tubers, eggs, small animals of all sorts. At the end of the day, the couple meets around the fire. When the manioc
[252] is ripe, and as long as it remains so, the man brings a bundle of roots which the women pound and press to make a kind of pancake (uridnosu, a1), and when the hunt has been fruitful, they rapidly cook pieces of small animals by burying them under the burning cinders of the family fire. But for seven months of the year, manioc is rare. As for the hunt, it is most often a matter of chance in these sterile sands
[137] where a skinny small animal hardly ever leaves the shade, and the pasture lands at the heads of rivers are separated from one another by considerable stretches of semi-desert brush. Thus, the family
[24] must most often subsist on the collection of the women. Very often we have attended (and sometimes shared) these diabolical doll-size snacks which, for the Nambikwara, for half the year, are the only hope of not dying of hunger. When the man, silent and fatigued, re-
[262] turns to camp and throws his bow and arrows which he could not use to one side, from the basket of the woman is extracted an extraordinary and moving collection: some orange fruit from the buriti palm (eʔéru, a1, ejtʔãnde, b1, ʔola, c), two fat poisonous spiders (horaʔsu, a1, kutʔnde, b1), some tiny lizards' eggs and some of these animals (katãterisu, a1, nagãde, b1, talʔme, c), a bat, some small nuts from the bacajuva palm (arookesu, a1, lokʔninde, b1), or uaguassu (aradikisu, a1), a handful of grasshoppers (takedasu, a1, tagere,
[252] b1, taʔki, c). The pulpy fruits are crushed with the hands in a calabash filled with water, the nuts cracked with the blows of a stone, the animals and larvae buried pell-mell in the coals; and this repast is gaily devoured, a meal which would not be sufficient to satisfy the hunger of a white person, but which feeds a family here.

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182 The conversation becomes animated and laughter spreads. In the dark
462 prairie the camp fires burn. Around the fire, the only protection
against the cold which descends, behind the frail windbreak of palms
[342] and branches hastily planted in the ground on the side where wind or
[415] rain is expected; near the baskets filled with poor objects which constitute their whole earthly treasure; lying on the ground which extends around, haunted only by other bands equally hostile and fearful, the couples, embracing tightly, are truly seen as the support of one another, the comfort, the only help against the daily difficulties and the dreamy melancholy invades the Nambikwara soul from time to time. The visitor who camps in the brush with the Indians for the first time feels tenderness as well as anguish and pity before the spectacle of this humanity so completely unprotected; crushed, apparently against the soil of a hostile land by some implacable cataclysm; naked, shivering around the hesitant fires. He circulates tip-toe among the underbrush, in the dark, avoiding crushing in his walk a hand, an arm, a trunk, whose warm reflections are seen by the light of the fires. But this misery is animated by whispering and laughter. [56] The couples clasp one another as in the nostalgia of a lost union. Their caresses, at the same time tender and candid, are not interrupted by the passage of the stranger. One senses in all
[157] of them an immense gentleness, a profound carelessness, a naive and charming animal satisfaction, and, emanating from all that, something like the most moving and credible expression of human tenderness.

593 Thus it is not surprising that the attitude of the two sexes as con-
831 cerns one another is characterized by intense interest. This interest
462 is translated in certain cases by the vocabulary. In fact the Nambikwara
562 have only one word to express "pretty" and "young," and a single word to
[517] signify "ugly" and "old" (munjéne, jeʔene, bI). Their esthetic judgments are thus based essentially on human considerations, and above all, sexual ones. But the interest which is manifested between the sexes is of a complex nature. Men judge women in a mass, as being a little different from themselves. Depending on the situation, they consider them with desire, admiration, or tenderness. In itself the confusion of terms pointed out above constitutes permanent homage. But it must not be forgotten that the form of economic adaptation realized by sexual division of labor a capital role attributes to the women, since family life rests to a very large degree (probably the greatest) on the collecting of the women, but it represents an
[183] inferior type of activity. The ideal life is conceived on the model of agricultural production or hunting. To have plenty of manioc, and

593 fat pieces of meat is a constantly relished dream, even though rarely
831 realized. On the other hand, the provisions haphazardly collected are
462 considered—and really are—the daily misery. In Nambikwara folk-
[183] lore, the expression "to eat grasshoppers" (tágære ųĩrige, b1), a
562 typically feminine and infantile harvest, is nearly equivalent to the French "to eat the mad cow" (to rough it). At the same time the woman is considered a tender and good being, but of the second
[198] order. The language which she uses habitually separates her from the men and unites her with the children (in the same way that she collaborates with the children in expeditions of collecting and gleaning). We shall see later that this assimilation also continues into the metaphysical thinking and that, on this latter plan, discrimination between the sexes attains proportions whose psychological attitudes are only a derisive indication. It is considered well-bred for men to speak of women with a pitying good will, and, in conversations between the two sexes, to address them with a slightly mocking indulgence. Certain sayings are heard often among men speaking among themselves:

[538] 5. ųĩtnoŝunatũkhne joʔotnuŝutnãdnįani deneşunatukhne. (b1)
The children do not know, I know, the women do not know.

and they bring up the group of women (dosu, a1), their jokes, their conversations, with a tone of tenderness and mockery. But, of course, that is only [57] a social attitude. When the man finds himself alone with his wife around the camp fire, he listens to her complaints, considers her demands attentively, asks her help in a hundred undertakings. The male line of talk disappears, and gives way to the collaboration of two partners conscious of the essential value which they have for one another.

198 This ambiguity of male attitude as regards women has its exact
562 correspondence in the equally ambivalent behavior of the female group. The women think of themselves collectively, and manifest it in several ways. In the first place they do not talk like the men. Even though a sexual language does not exist in the true sense of the word, in conversation a thousand inflections, shades of pronunciation are found which are typically feminine. Women articulate badly and affect a sort of jabbering which is reminiscent of infants' pronunciation. They whisper instead of talking out loud, and emit sounds with an affected mannerism and preciosity which are at times seductive when they are not exasperating. Thus, in dialect a1, they give words an ending —ŝu instead of the usual—su or —tu. They also pronounce—kititu, the verbal suffix which is for men, —kedjutu or —kedjuzu.

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562 It is certain that they are perfectly aware of this peculiarity. When one does not understand them and asks them to repeat, they exaggerate maliciously, and more each time, the style that is particular to them, and when one desists, discouraged, they laugh and exchange jokes. They have succeeded. This is especially true of young women who do not yet have children, and of young concubines. The mothers and older women stress these differences less, although one also finds them among this group upon occasion. Besides, the young women like the society of children and adolescents, play and joke constantly with them; and it is the women who take care of the animals in that very human way peculiar to certain South American Indians. All this contributes to creating a special atmosphere around the women, in the interior of the group, at the same time child-like, happy, affected and provocative, in which the men participate when they return from the hunt or the gardens.

462 But a completely different attitude is manifested among the women when they are to undertake some one of the forms of activity which are especially intrusted to them. They accomplish their tasks as artisans with ability and patience, in the solitary camp, arranged in a circle and with their backs to one another, and, during trips they [484] valiantly carry the heavy basket which contains the provisions and riches of the whole family and the quiver of arrows, while the husband walks ahead with the bow and one or two arrows, the wooden spear or the digging implement, looking for the flight of an animal [482 or a fruit tree. One sees these women then, the forehead bound with 461] the tump line, the back completely covered by the wide basket in the form of an inverted bell, walking for kilometers with their characteristic step; [58] the thighs very tense, the knees together, the ankles turned out, the feet turned in; leaning on the outer edge of the foot and moving the hips, courageous, energetic and gay. We give on the opposite page[1] a chart of the division of tasks between the sexes, but this division should be interpreted in a less strict manner than usual for phenomena of this type. Among the Nambikwara collaboration between husband and wife is carried so far that many tasks are done jointly. More exactly, if the man rarely intervenes in feminine tasks, the woman on the other hand (and above all the supplementary wives in case of polygamy) unceasingly aid their husband. We have indicated by crosses between parentheses the cases where a task attributed to one sex is occasionally practiced by the [463] other. Thus, when they are alone or among themselves, the men do the carrying, but they do not carry from the forehead (senasi'kititu, a1),

[1] [See p. 66. - Analyst]

462 [452] like the women,, but from the shoulder (adiuisi'kititu, al), and frequently lightening the load by dragging the strap in the left hand, which they explain by saying that they need to watch out for possible game. And they naturally do not neglect collecting and gleaning whenever the occasion is presented or necessity is felt. In like manner, the women normally aid their husbands (especially the polygamous wives) in their work in the gardens. Both sexes cut down wood, the men for constructing huts or shelters and for making bows, arrows, spears and clubs, etc., and the women, more often, for the fire wood. Above all, and when she is not occupied by her own work, the woman aids her husband in all the tasks that are his. She holds his implements, gives them to him when he asks for them, supports the end of the arrow or the wood of the bow while he repairs or polishes them, or begins to twist the cord while he finishes the wooden part. She does the retouching and finishes the work. This frequent and always harmonious collaboration gives the impression that the sexual division of labor is much less strict among the Nambikwara than it is commonly, and sometimes one might even think it non-existent. This is not so; but the rule is constantly made flexible or masked by the unity of the couple.

601 602 As we have shown in studying the kinship system all the classificatory contemporaries of an individual belonging to a different sex are divided by him into husbands and wives, and brothers and sisters. We have found no term which designates the actual spouse, and allows one to distinguish him in conversation from the classifying spouse. A man calls his wife or wives, and his cross-cousins (fem.) indiscriminately asjes'u, as the woman designates her husband and her cross-cousins (masc.) by the same term ouénsaesu. But, of course, behavior is very different in the two cases. It has just been seen to what extent relationships are close and active between true husband and wife. As regards his potential wives, a man does not adopt any particular attitude, and the relationships do not seem to be either [59] [Table: Sexual Division of Labor] more or less intimate than those which he carries on with his sisters (the same remark is true as regards the relationship of a woman with her potential husbands and her brothers). In these two cases, the relationships are characterized by [60] great reserve, the individuals involved do not pay much attention to one another and rarely address one another except for definite reasons. But it is a question here of a mass attitude, conditioned by usage, rather than of an over-all picture of conscious and stylized reactions. The Indians do not seem to perceive

[Text continues on p. 67]

[59]

SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR

	MAN	WOMAN
Portaging	(+)	+
Agriculture	+	(+)
Hunting and fishing with bow	+	
Collection of wild honey	+	
Collection and harvest of grains, fruits, roots, eggs, small animals, hunting with digging stick	(+)	+
Cutting up of small game	(+)	+
Preparation of manioc (harvest, pressing and cooking)		+
Preparation of drinks		+
Fire { Production	+	
Fire { Transportation		+
Cutting down wood	+	+
Construction of huts	+	
Construction of the shelters	+	+
Utensils: axes, knives, spears, graters, burins, drills	+	

	MAN	WOMAN
Weaving	+	
Rope making	+	
Weaving and basket making; straw work	+	
Ceramics		+
Preparation of gourds		+
Mortars		+
Recipients of leaves or of bark	+	
Beads, necklaces, bracelets, earrings		+
Finery of feathers and of furs	+	
Musical Instruments	+	
Balls	+	
Vegetable dyes		+
Preparation of poisons and of blowguns	+	
Collection of medicinal plants	+	+
Weapons	+	

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601 The Indians do not seem to perceive
602 the specific nature of certain inter-individual relationships except in
[593] the case of relationships of stepmother and stepfather, as will be seen farther on. Nevertheless, the very great liberty which reigns between a man and his wife on one hand, and his brothers-in-law on the other, contrasts greatly with the more serious and dull character of his dealings with his sisters or his (theoretical) wives. This reserve goes to the point of forbidding the verbal expression of the relationship of potential spouses among the children to a certain degree. In the
[124] course of our interrogations, we have always found it difficult to obtain an answer from the interested parties themselves or from their close relatives when the relationship was that of husband and wife (1).

However, there was no case where the exact answer was not given after several evasive words, or an affectation of ignorance, or an attitude of ill will. But however slight the prohibition (the exact information seems to be considered rather as an impropritey or an
[858] indelicacy), it is no less odd because of it, since children classed as potential spouses behave often, and very openly, as such, without anyone objecting to it.

595 Several times we have alluded to polygamy, concrete examples
462 of which were analyzed on the occasion of the study of the kinship systems. Among the Nambikwara, polygamy represents a general tendency limited by the quantity of available women, and a prerogative existing among the chiefs of the groups, the shamans, or outstanding personalities. From this point of view, it springs from the study of command, and we shall return to this when this problem is tackled. Whenever it exists, polygamy is not a substitute for monogamous marriage, it is added to it without suppressing it. An individual begins by marrying one single woman, and upon the occasion of his social advancement, or of happy occasions, it is suitable for him to add some companions. But a very clear distinction, even though it is not sanctioned by the vocabulary of kinship (2), is

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1. The Indian questioned answers that he "does not know" or changes the subject of conversation.

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2. To characterize the functions of the first wife, an informant (A6) once used the term asi̯ẽsu aʔou̯erelisu (a1); to designate the supplementary wives, another informant (B1) mentioned a form nukɔnãi̯tere, which could be a feminine of nukɔnãi̯ore (b1), "companion," a term which the chief uses to designate the men of his group. But the

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> sense of this term remains doubtful. And it has never been possible, in the course of the questions on kinship, to obtain from polygamous husbands discriminating terms for each of their wives.

595 established between the first wife and the new arrivals. The first
462 wife takes care of her children and devotes herself to the cares of
[252 the household, shredding the manioc and cooking the cumaru nuts.
262] She is occupied with feminine craft tasks. In short, she carries on her activities within the [61] limits of the sexual division of labor. The other wives aid her occasionally, but their main duty seems to be to assist their husband in his masculine tasks. They are comrades and collaborators who, in the general plan of the division of labor, could be more justifiably classed with the men. Their aid seems like a method on the part of the chief of the group to fulfill his heavy duties more easily, and like a psychological compensation for his responsibilities. When he leaves on a hunting or reconnoitering expedition, one of his polygamous wives accompanies him to hold his arrows and to carry in her basket the eventual prize. When he works around the camp or in the village, it is with their aid and company.
[515] Although men and women do not bathe at the same time, one sometimes sees the husband and his polygamous wives take a bath together, the pretext for great struggles in the water, and innumerable jokes.
[832 In the evening he plays with them, either amorously, rolling
524] in the sand embracing two, three or four, or in a childlike way. For example A1, a3 and a4, stretched out on their backs, by way of making a star with three points on the ground, raise their feet in the air and knock them against one another, bottom of foot against bottom of foot, in a regular rythm (this game is described by the term eridnaąkititu, al).

595 The polygamous union is thus presented as a super-imposition
182 of a plural form of amorous companionship on the monogamous marriage, and at the same time, we insist, as an attribute of command with a functional value from the psychological point of view as well as from the economic. The women usually live on very good terms, and although the first wife has a role that might seem a little unappreciated, working while she hears at her side the bursts of laughter of her husband and of his little mistresses, and sometimes even witnesses more tender frolicking, she does not show either bitterness or jealousy. In fact, this distribution of roles is not either unchangeable or rigorous, and, upon occasion, although rarely, the

595 husband and his first wife will also play, while bathing or near the
182 camp fire. She is in no way excluded from the gay life. Moreover,
her slighter participation in relationships of amorous comradeship
is compensated by a greater respectability and a certain authority
over her young companions. It must not be forgotten (and we have
595 pointed it out in the study of the kinship system) that the polygamous
582 marriage presents a double aspect—the marriage of a man with a
woman and with some "daughters" of the latter, or with a woman
and the "sisters" of the latter. The respective situations of A1, a2
and a3 and a4 realize the two situations at the same time since, at
least in one of the cases (with a4), it is the second oblique marriage
within the same line. As example of the first type, we have the
marriages of A32 and of A56; for the second type, one can also refer
to the marriage of C20 (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 53.

595 The polygamous wives then, as a general rule, belong to a
571 younger generation. The first wife calls them "daughters" or of
"little sisters," and they behave as such. A form of spontaneous
grouping which one finds realized frequently is the union of the husband's daughters (by his first wife) and his young wives (polygamous). They form a sort of gay and carefree childlike society, but also a more or less subordinate society. We have found households comprised of two (A42, A57, A73, B1, B32, C20), three (A1,) and five (A32) wives. It does not seem that the number of wives is proportional to the social importance of the husband (even though polygamous union itself is conditioned by this), but is rather haphazard.

SEX LIFE

000 We shall begin by giving some information concerning organic activities.

514 Coughing, sneezing, spitting, blowing the nose, belching, ex-
515 pelling flatus, constitute operations which are not subject to any
576 etiquette, and which the vocabulary does not always clearly distinguish (thus: tolũt'ige, b1, to cough, and tolũtiore, b2, to sneeze; kaşite, sneeze, and kasi'pe, c, spit. tarni'kititu, a1, to expel flatus or to defecate). All of these needs are satisfied publicly, without precaution, ritual gesture or formula, as much on the part of the executor as on that of the spectators. No attention is paid to them, and everything

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515 leads to the belief that the terms employed to designate them, so
576 easily interchangeable, refer to more general forms of behavior.

515 To blow the nose, one takes in both hands a twig or a stalk of dry grass, folds it in two, and pinches the nose in this improvised nut-cracker while blowing strongly. The mucus is collected by pinching the instrument together under the nose, and the whole thing is thrown away after having been plunged into the sand to dry it.
514 The men urinate standing or while walking. The women crouch, leaning slightly forward and sprinkle themselves with sand to dry themselves. The children act like the adults of their sex, except that the little girls often urinate standing up with their legs separated. The men defecate alone in the bush neighboring the camp, the women do the same, or go in a group. On such occasions one perceives the reality of the group formed by the girls and the secondary wives of polygamous marriages. Thus, a3, a4, a5, a8, a19, and a20 are accustomed to isolate themselves by twos, threes or fours. Elimination is done in a crouched position, in a hole summarily dug in the sand with the hands, or directly on the ground. A small branch is used to clean oneself, and sand, for drying.

841 The women are forced into isolation only at the time of their [63] first menstruation.(1). Following this, they are only subject to certain alimentary and sexual prohibitions:

6. i̯au̯oŏ́dage edẽ́dé edẽ́dé edẽ́dé kã́no kã́no kã́no kã́no kã́no kanahớ huiire tamĩ́ndige. (b1).
The woman has her menses every two moons (?), then she waits one day, one day, one day, one day, the next day she can eat, copulate.

The taboo on eating for five days is not rigorous, and usually concerns certain types of food. Besides this, a woman cannot bathe during her menses, as is, of course, the general rule for the two sexes during this period. One goes to the river to put water in a gourd and pours it over the body while crouching. Otherwise, the woman takes care of all her habitual occupations. No precaution is taken against
841 the flow of blood, and as no trace of it is noted, it must be supposed
147 that it is greatly reduced (2).

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1. Cf. below, p. 109.

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2. Among the Bororo, on the contrary, it is easily seen which women are indisposed. But the above remarks seem to be indicative of a fairly general state of affairs

841 147 171 among South-American Indians. Since the sixteenth century, travelers have often been amazed by the insignificance of the menses of Indian women. Thus: "In the period of about one year which we spent in that country, ordinarily associating with the people, we have never seen the women have their menses" (J. de Léry, *Voyage faict en la Terre du Brésil*, Gaffarel, Paris, 1880, Vol. II, Ch. 17, p. 92); and more recently: "no one notes when they go through certain difficult periods peculiar to their sex" (Tocantins, "Estudos sobre os Mundurucus," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, Vol. 40, 1877, p. 113). On the other hand, the text just cited could be interpreted in two different ways: the vocal inflexion of the informant suggested that the expression *edẽdé edẽdé edẽdé* signified "(this) moon (yes), (this) moon (no), (and this) moon (again)", meaning "every other moon" and not—as it is also grammatically possible—"moon, moon, moon," that is "every moon." The first sense would constitute a sort of physiological scandal, but remains, nevertheless the most probable. In fact, it is possible that the periodic indispositions are less important and more irregular among South-American women than is the case among the whites.

842 The Nambikwara have a very clear idea of the relationship between sexual intercourse and conception. It is frequent that an Indian [201] clarifies that paternity relationship is one of the blood, and not classificatory, by forming a ring with the thumb and index finger of the left hand, into which he introduces the index finger of the right hand which he glides back and forth. After this demonstration, he indicates the child saying: *tayette*, *tayette*, "my child, my child" (3).

3. From the same observation made by Roquette Pinto (loc. cit. p. 255) more than twenty years earlier, one can conclude that this gesture does not constitute an individual innovation, but a stylized social conduct.

842 833 197 Etymology points out the connection between the two phenomena: in the eastern dialect, "copulate" is translated *u̯iĩ'nedju̯tu* and, in the central and southern dialects, *tami'ndige*, *tuu̯i'rare*. These three terms are attached to the respective forms [64] for "father": *ahu̯i'nosu* (*nosu* = man, *a1*), *tami'nde*, *u̯ãĩre*. On the other hand, in the northern

842 dialect, it is: "to copulate," iru̯ja, j̯uũreli, while "father" is u̯ãi̯nko;
833 but one refers rather to sexual relations by the term ş̂ikiş̂ikiş̂i, whose
197 evocative value is reinforced by an appropriate gesticulation. This term corresponds, in the other dialects, to the compounds u̯inikuş̂iş̂u (a1), iekej̯akãtige (b1), "to copulate with rhythmic movements." Likewise, in the western dialect, "to copulate" is expressed by ãi̯nş̂ore, even though the demonstration evoked at the beginning of this paragraph uses the term ninĩş̂ore.

842 We have not been able to elucidate clearly the indigenous theory of conception (conceive: u̯etnẽdige, b1; from u̯ẽtte, "child"). It implies apparently that the sperm coagulates in the uterus and progressively forms the child. The man alone would play a positive role while the woman would be reduced to that of a simple receptacle. Nevertheless, the woman is held responsible for sterility, whether it be attributed to a particular condition or to age.

834 It is difficult to say if the numerous prohibitions attached to
842 sexual relations have as a conscious end to assure conditions favorable to reproduction, or if they depend on more remote beliefs. The first hypothesis is hardly credible, for the Nambikwara are not very eager to have children. The quest for food is too hard, too difficult, to permit the care of several children at the same time, especially when they are still incapable of taking care of themselves; and especially, during the nomadic period a woman cannot carry more than one nursing child, besides the heavy basket. Thus the first steps of the child are impatiently awaited. At any rate, several prohibitions have, as a definite goal, the limitation of sexual activity. Besides the prohibition of incest (1), it is not good to copulate "moonlit

835

1. The prohibition concerning incest is formulated as follows:

(7) tu̯aãde takenaãde tamĩndige manhatte (b1)
for a sister and brother to copulate is bad

[684] but it does not seem that the infractions are punished other than by collective disapproval. A very equivocal attitude concerning a couple (A71 and a72) and the use, in their regard, of kinship terms communicated with repugnance, and manifestly contradictory to the system, makes one believe that it could be a case of parallel cousins. We have not been able to find a sure case of incest between blood relatives.

834 nights" kanaroʔetẽndige (b1); inversely, nights without moon are
842 particularly approved, as well as rainy periods. In 1938 the rains
834 were late, and the first shower came in September after six months of
[833] total drought. The event, so long awaited, was immediately cele-
brated by B1, who did not even wait for night to have sexual relations
with his youngest wife b2. However, day-time relations are rare,
and the act was carried out more ostensibly than usual, behind the thin
palms of a shelter. Immediately afterwards B1 supplied a spontaneous
commentary on meteorological prohibitions. Sexual relations are
also, at least theoretically, forbidden between husband and wife
[856] [65] from the birth of the child to the time when he can walk. This
event is hurried along by rubbing his legs with the juice of a non-
identified plant (touriʔĩri, c) "so that he will walk quickly, so that
another can be made" (1); but, by "another," is understood, undoubtedly sexual intercourse rather than their result, rarely welcome:
[847] the Nambikwara women often have recourse to abortion, and they
are familiar with a great number of plants and roots for that use. We
were not able to obtain a specimen.

831 The attitude of the Nambikwara toward things pertaining to
832 love can be summed up in their formula tamĩndige mõndage, trans-
lated literally, if not elegantly: "To make love is good." We have
already mentioned the erotic atmosphere which fills daily life. Love
affairs hold the interest and curiosity of the Indians to the highest
degree. They are eager for conversation on these subjects, and the
remarks exchanged in the camp are filled with allusions and hidden
[833] meanings. However, sexual relations are rare, and the prohibitions
which limit them explain this state of affairs only partially. The
thing truly responsible seems rather to be indigenous temperament.
[147] In the course of the amorous games to which couples give themselves
over so willingly and so publicly, and which are often very far ad-
vanced, we have never been able to note the beginning of an erec-
tion. The pleasure looked for seems to be less of the physical order
833 than playful and sentimental. Sexual relations usually take place at
night, and often not far from the fires of the camp. More often the
couple draws back about a hundred meters into the neighboring bush.
This departure is noted immediately, and gives rise to the most

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[171] 1. The same custom existed among the ancient Tupi.
Cf. Cardim, Tratado da terra et da gente do Brasil,
new ed., Rio-de-Janeiro, 1925, p. 170.

833 lively jubilation. Comments are exchanged, jokes made, and even the young children share in the excitement whose motive they are well acquainted with. Sometimes even a small group of men, young women and children, take off in pursuit of the couple and watch the details of the operation through the branches, whispering among themselves and muffling their laughter. The principal actors do not appreciate these goings on at all. However, it is better to take part in them as well as to suffer the taunts and mockeries which greet their return to camp. It also happens that a second couple follows the example of the first and seeks, in their turn, the solitude of the bush. The Indians know and use two positions for coitus. We were not able to find out if they are practiced indiscriminately or if the choice depends on a rule. Whatever the case, besides the posterior position (toãtelosu, a1; inkəlĕkenore, b1—to copulate from the rear) so frequent in South America, another position (uataʔãdige, b1) can be described as follows: the woman on her back, the man facing her, the right leg only between the legs of the woman and the left leg outside, so that the two superimposed bodies give the general form of an X.

[66] PARENTS AND CHILDREN

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847 The Nambikwara have few children. Couples without children are not rare, one or two children seem to be a normal number, and it is exceptional to find more than three in a household. Sexual prohibitions and the economic conditions on which they are based which also give rise to abortions, explain this situation. Apparently also Nambikwara formerly had the custom of beating to death the children whose mothers died during childbirth. According to the informants, this practice has been abandoned today.

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855 The mother gives the breast lying on her side with the child pressed against her. These feedings have no fixed time. The child nurses when he wishes and as much as he wishes. Weaning takes place towards the end of the first year, but up to the age of two or three the infant returns from time to time to the maternal breast.
[514] When a child eliminates at the camp site or inside the hut, the father or mother carefully buries the excrement by digging a small hole which is quickly filled with dry sand. A great deal of care is taken to prevent the children from soiling the camp site and the objects placed near them:

855 8. ųérisekihĩndage numĩ sekəlaįene élamnihĩ(bl)
863 The child has urinated! the hide! he is dirty! throw out(the urine)!

Later, when the child can isolate himself but not yet clean himself up, he is seen returning on all fours to his mother and remaining in that position while she applies the small twig in the way that has been previously described.

142 All children seem to have a pigmented blotch at birth to which
856 no particular belief is attached. The informants only mention the phenomenon with that positive and detached attitude so striking on their part:

9. ųĩtte ş̂édeş̂edédnege tőodaγige kā kā kā ųuderige (bl)
the children marked with green are born, one day, one day, one day, it disappears.

The disappearance of the blotch actually seems to be very rapid.

593 One should, naturally, distinguish true parentage and classificatory
602 parentage. The child does not adopt any particular form of conduct
609 towards his "fathers" and "mothers" in the classificatory sense of the word. He treats them like other adults of the group. Often, furthermore, an individual calls a boy or girl much younger than himself father or mother (thus a13 and a20 are "mothers" of A6 and A24).
[597] When an orphan is taken in by a parallel uncle or aunt, the classificatory parents take the place of true parents, and consequently the
[601] conduct changes. In general, the Indians do not use [67] a term to distinguish classificatory parents and children from blood ones. When seeking precision, they add the word tauéttu (al), tauétte (bl): "my little one," to the term for son or daughter (aʔkiraru, aʔkineru), whose connotation seems thus to be social first of all. The physiological acceptance of this springs from the fact that the word is also used to designate the young of animals, other terms being reserved for relationships of parentage in the human family.

855 The Nambikwara feel very real affection for their children, and
157 show it as regards them, and they are repaid in turn. But these sentiments, however real and profound they may be, are often masked behind the nervousness and instability so characteristic of indigenous conduct. Also, as the following example will show, the risk is to let oneself be fooled by apparent indifference, and even momentary rudeness.

Little A16 suffers from indigestion; he has a headache, vomits, passes half the time groaning and the other half sleeping. He is ill, (intikātu, al), but no one, parents included, pays the least attention,

855 and he is left alone a whole day. When evening comes, however,
157 his mother cares for him tenderly, removes lice from him while he sleeps, signals to others not to approach, and makes for him a sort of cradle in her arms.

854 A young mother, c21, plays with her baby giving him little slaps
157 on the back. The baby begins to laugh, and she gets excited by the game to such an extent that she hits him harder and harder, so that he cries. Then she stops and consoles him.

736 We saw the little orphan girl a9, whom everyone loves, literally trampled during a dance. She had fallen in the general excitement
858 of the celebration without anyone paying any attention. On the other hand, when they are opposed, children readily strike their
865 mother, and the latter does not fight back. Children are never
861 punished, and we have never seen one of them spanked, nor even the
855 gesture made, except as a joke. Sometimes, a child cries (1) because
515 he has hurt himself, was in a fight, or is hungry,

10. ųr̃tsotn̥aniena naɪ̃dneraʝena indõtenaʝena ũ̄nʔeere (bl)
the child cries, he is thirsty, he is hungry, he wishes
to eat,

or because he does not want to be deloused. But this last case is rare, for delousing seems to charm the patient as much as it amuses the operator. It is also held to be a mark of interest and affection. When he wishes to be deloused, the child—or the husband—places his head on the woman's knees, presenting the two sides of his head in succession. The operator proceeds by parting hair or looking through the strands. The louse that is caught is immediately crushed. The child who cries is quickly consoled by [68] a member of his family or by an older child. In general, they have little to com-
[861] plain about. Very pampered, rarely scolded, never whipped, they live free, useless and lazy.

854 Also, the sight of the mother and her child is usually full of gaiety and freshness. The mother holds an object out to the baby through the straw of the shelter and withdraws it at the moment the baby thinks he has it:

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1. The tears of a child are not called by the same name as those shed ritually by adults in the course of mourning. In the first case: to weep, nã̄ṣere, nā̆dige; in the second: to weep, doriã̆geṣere (bl).

854 11. kalajodné daẽ joʔdnoheré (bl)
Take it from the front! Take it from the back!

Or else, amidst great bursts of laughter, she takes the child and pretends to be going to throw him to the ground:

12. ãmdam nőm tebũ nihiji (bl)
(The mother) "I am going to throw you!" (the child) "I don't want to!"

855
593 Reciprocally, the children surround their mother with a tenderness that is demanding and sometimes unquieting. At the time of leaving group bl, we jokingly proposed to a little girl (b5) that we take her with us. Her response was very characteristic, and at the same time similar to that which many other children would have made under the same circumstances:

13. hődnjẽ́ odengenãhien ŝuadaʕien tañáhnãdaje. (bl)
No! I don't want to go! I am afraid! Mama would cry!

And another observation also makes evident the affection which is always present on the part of the child: a father (C20) brings wild honey and begins by giving some to his son (C22), and only then to his wife (c21); the child, worried, watches his father's movements to see if his mother will receive her share.

[862]
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593 During the period which precedes weaning, the child lives in as great intimacy with his father as his mother. Like the latter, the father takes care of him, holds him in his arms, wipes up his excrement when necessary, etc. Later, the child lives closer to his mother. She carries him on trips till he can walk, and later he walks at her side. He remains with her at camp or village while his father goes hunting. However, the proprieties of relationships depend first of all on the sex of the child. A father shows more interest in his son than in his daughter, since he must teach him the masculine techniques and occupations: and the same thing is true concerning relationships of a mother and daughter. But as a whole, the relationships of the father with his children show the same [843] tenderness and solicitude that we have previously mentioned. The father plays with his child while carrying him on his shoulder (alakuiriginare, bl). He makes weapons to fit the size of the child's little arms:

14 mifnde tayirétnore ikəláagetire (bl)
The father makes arrows for the child.

736 [69] Concerning a young male orphan, nearly an adolescent, it was said to us one day that "he does not go hunting because he has no father to make him a bow." In certain cases, the father must extend his care and, to a certain degree, substitute for the absent

[734] wife. We have already cited the case of the two little girls
593 a8 and a9 whose stepmother (a7) refuses to take care of them.
Their father (A6) must, then, assume many of the lesser func-
[842] tions. At the time of departure for a trip, it is he who prepares the basket for the elder, measures on her the length of the tump line, and shortens it thanks to the free end which he fastens passing it several times through the holes of the basket-work.
869 It is also the father who tells the children the traditional stories.
538 And, with a view to shortening and making more intelligible these often long and repetitious accounts, he applies himself to transposing them in a style especially adapted for children. Thus, the infant's version of the story of the Flood (1) is as

1. See below, p. 120, the complete version of this story.

follows:

15. u̯ăitento dohonenŝiram kănaram hĕpatnẽ atătene u̯ei̯denki̯athattene u̯aĩndənle. (b1)
Everyone was dead! There was no one left! Not a man!
Everyone was dead! Nothing more!

575
571 Relationships of a particular nature exist in the case of polygamous marriage between the children of the first wife and their young stepmothers. Even though the latter are called "mother" or of "sister of the mother" by them, they live in a state of companionship with them, especially with the girls, which also extends to all the children of the group. We have already dwelled on this society of girls and young wives who take collective baths, go to defecate in a group, smoke together, joke and give themselves over to rather farfetched games, such as spitting long jets of saliva in one another's face. Another example: a3 and a4 play with their stepdaughter a5. One of them pushes her and throws her to the ground with such violence that her head cracks against the ground and the little one begins to shriek. The two young women heap mockeries upon her. Finally, the youngest goes to drag her from the ground almost by force and pushes her toward her mother, without ceremony, like a package. These relationships are close, appreciated, but without courtesy, like those which young boys might have in our society. They rarely imply service or attention. Thus, A1 and his polygamous wives a3 and a4 divide a

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571 piece of small animal. a5 asks for part of it and a4 answers: "Let your father give you his." These relationships bring about
856 a rather curious consequence: the young girls become independ-
595 ent more rapidly than the boys. They follow the young wives, take part in their activities, while the boys, left to themselves, timidly try to adapt themselves to the group but without great success, and usually remain, at least in earliest childhood, beside their mothers.

857 [70] Considering now the relationships of children among themselves, the most striking characteristic is the absence of play. In certain groups (central and south), the children manufacture, although rarely, small objects of rolled or braided straw, but generally they know no other distraction than fights or contests which they do together, and lead an existence modeled on that of the adults. In fact, they carry on the normal day of the women: in the morning, preparing the manioc, then the cumaru nuts, bathing when it begins to get warm; when the sun is very high, retiring to the shade, and before night, gathering wood for the fire. Likewise, the girls learn to weave, they walk around, laugh, sleep. The little boys do not begin to play with little bows and imitate the male pursuits until much later (from 8 to 10 years on). But all become rapidly conscious of the fundamental and sometimes tragic problem of Nambikwara life, that of nourishment, and of the active role that is expected of them. They take part in the harvesting and collecting expeditions with great excitement. In time of need, it is not rare to see them seek their own food outside the camp, working to unearth roots, or walking in the grass on tiptoe, a large stripped branch in hand, to catch grasshoppers. The little girls know what an important role the women have in the economic life of the tribe, and are impatient to make themselves worthy of it.
[231 Thus, we find a young girl (b5) who tenderly carries a puppy
482] in the tump line that her mother uses for her little sister, and we make the remark:

16. uajnuftte ufkarage
She caresses the little puppy?

Her mother answers me:

uefkuătnore uainuetuikadeʔena tăitniene
The little girl caresses the puppy (because she wishes) to raise it.

to which the little girl adds gravely:

857 iõndage ŝuténturu kaj̨áno kaj̨án kaj̨ān hôte kaj̨ãnde ŝuténtere kyajkʔno (b1).
When I am big, I shall catch the caetetu, caetetu, caetetu, the monkey, the caetetus, I shall kill them when it (the dog) barks.

[568] She makes an error in grammar which the father points out
857 laughingly: she should have said tilõdage, "when I am big,"
154 instead of the masculine form she used. The error is interesting, placed in context, which manifestly shows a feminine desire to raise the economic activities reserved for that sex to the level of those which are the men's privilege. As the exact sense of ŝuténtere is "to kill by beating with a stick or club" (here, the digging stick), the informant tries unconsciously to identify [71] feminine collecting and gathering (which can only aim at the capture of small animals) with the masculine hunt, armed with bow and arrows.

593 The relationships between brothers and sisters have not given rise to any particular observation. In the central and southern group, one finds a special expression to designate the brother of the same sex, nlaǒre, "the other one"; this term is not only applied to kinship relationships, but also designates objects be-
[342] longing to the same type. Thus the five or six poles planted obliquely which fan out from the center, and which hold up the
[534] first skeleton of the hut, are called indeléaore; likewise, the double (kalǒde) or triple (lutʔndjone) pipes or whistles. Friendly
857 groups are said to be "brothers" (1) also, and in discussions between adversaries they use the exclamation:

17. kakõtj̨ane tãkʔnaãtj̨ane (b1).
Wicked one! You are no longer my brother!

[612] which indicates that among the Nambikwara the term "brother" has the same wide sense which it possesses in our vocabulary.
857 But in the heart of the infantile society, numerous attitudes take
182 form which prepare or advance later relationships. The orphan baby a9 spends nearly the whole day in the hands of her young sister a8 (one is 2 to 3 years old, the other 6 to 7). Her sister takes care of her, carries her, feeds her. a19 and a20 (who are "mothers") act like elders toward these two children, in a way more marked than the real difference in age calls for. In fact, a8 and a20 are contemporaries. The eldest, a19, cracks bacaiuva

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1. See p. 92.

857 nuts for her sister a20 and eats them with her. When they are
182 satisfied, they give the rest to a8, who cracks them, in turn, for her little sister.

857 The relationships between children giving each other the names husband and wife are more obscure, and we have not succeeded in forming a clear concept of them. We have pointed out a slight taboo exists concerning the expression of this kinship relationship. However, generally, the young "husbands" or "wives" do not manifest any special behavior toward one another, either positive or negative. Nevertheless, we have encountered indisputable cases where the young potential spouses conduct themselves as true spouses. In the evening they leave the family fire and carry burning pieces of wood to light their fire in a corner of the camp. The witnesses pay scarcely any attention to this action. For example, someone will make the remark:

18. ųftnaųri ųfraįre tįšahete ųfraįena norẽteųii etilftere (bl).
The children are taking fire to make a fire, they blow to make flames.

[72] and the young "husband" says to his potential wife:

19. tadoôtakųi nikųitûteraųi etʔere aituruųi ųatadahaki (bl)
Bend down! Stir the fire, carry! Look (for more). Put it there!

857
864 After this, they install themselves near their fire and give themselves over, insofar as it is within their means, to all the erotic acts that they have seen their elders practice. The incident is greeted by the adults with indifference, or, at the most, with amused smiles: ųanó taminusere, "there are the children having little sexual relations," they say in passing. We have only verified these practices in a haphazard way among the young children (5 to 7 years). They seem to be absent among those nearer puberty, but, in the latter case, a lacuna appears in our observations, due to the lack of subjects for comparison.

857 As regards strangers, the attitude of children is quite variable.
609 Certain ones manifest fear and hostility for a long time:

20. tayẽtte ʔiina jaʔirina unjena (bl)
My child is frightened, he is ashamed, he doesn't move.

sometimes explained by a surprising external detail:

herãkʔloųi îrena (bl)
he is afraid of glasses.

Others (or the same ones after several days or weeks of acclimatization) are curious, friendly, eventually mystifying. Thus,

857 b5, who insists that the treatment that one gives the small ani-
609 mal to divest it of its hair be applied to the ethnologist:

21. niiuyenãgheẽ uʔupéeguedne (b1)
Put his beard in the fire! Roast his beard!

857 In general, they are to be good companions, enthusiastic, and
157 untiringly avid for games that are shown them. In exchange, they
are very obliging informants once they have become friends. Al-
[55] most all the information which we[1] were able to gather concerning
proper names comes from them.

231 This chapter cannot be ended without presenting some ob-
servations relating to domestic animals. Not only do the chil-
dren actually live in very intimate relationships with the animals,
but the latter are treated in the family like real children at
least outwardly. We mean that they share the group's food,
benefit from the same manifestations of tenderness or interest—
delousing, games, conversation, caresses—as the human beings.
In everything, their treatment is [73] curiously the same. The
Nambikwara have numerous domestic animals, first of all dogs,
and cocks and hens, who are all descendants of those introduced
in their region by the Rondon Commission; monkeys, parakeets,
birds of various kinds, and finally, the caetetu, the coati (Nasua
sp.), the jaguatirica. Only the dog seems to have acquired an
[229] occasionally utilitarian role in the service of women, for hunt-
ing with the digging stick (cf. quotation No. 16). The men
never use them for hunting with bow and arrow. The other ani-
231 mals are raised for the purpose of pleasure. They are not eaten,
262 the people do not consume the eggs of the hens who lay them in
the bush. But they do not hesitate to devour a young bird if it
dies after a vain attempt at acclimatization.

The terms used for behavior regarding animals are the same
as those used for humans. They say dehẽna uʔtte uʔkarage, "the
woman caresses the baby," or uʔinuʔette uʔkarage, "the woman
caresses the puppy."

231 While traveling, except for the animals capable of walking,
482 the whole menagerie is packed with the other baggage. The
monkeys, attached to the women's hair, adorn them with an
amusing living helmet, elongated by the long tail curled around
the neck of the bearer. The parakeets and hens perch on top of
the baskets, other animals are held in the arms. None of them
receive abundant nourishment but, even in days of need, they
231 have their share, however little it may be. As compensation,
521 they are an endless subject of distraction for the group, the

[1] [i.e. from the children.--Analyst]

231 principal spectacle for amusement. One hears such exclama-
521 tions as:

22. jakhũninde ĩteru ųirokũnene (b1)
The flying ants! He (the monkey) catches them to eat!

They talk to the monkey while giving him fruits: ųoşĩ, "take!" and as the monkeys live very intimately with the dogs, they laugh hilariously seeing their goings on:

23. hõte ųã̃jinde miramirajna hõte ųairĩdnjena (b1).
The monkey mounts the back of the dog! The monkey bites the dog!

and again:

24. kuɣarisena tãkɣlahẽ tãkela ãɣoriʃẽ kãdajena (b1).
It is balancing head down, head down it balances, it fell! (the monkey).

231 The children like to play at burning animals, and when
857 insects are involved, they are allowed to do so; but if they try
[865] to burn domestic animals by touching them surreptitiously with a piece of smoldering wood, they are severely reprimanded.

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THE GRANDPARENTS

603 We use the term in the classificatory sense, that is, the members of the third ascendant generation. In general, there are few—two in restricted group a1, five out of 75 persons in the enlarged group, three out of 31 in enlarged group b1 (in this estimate we do not include A1, a2 and a14, who can be classed as grandparents indirectly). This small number is
[165 explained, in part, by the very high mortality rate of the
987] Nambikwara, and partially also by the fact that aged persons, although participating in the nomadic life, do not move with the same mobility as the other members of the group, and are met more rarely. Whatever the case may be, the grandparents share the life of their descendants. The founding of a new family does not erase the ties between adults and their parents. We have underlined several examples while studying the phenomena
[592] of residence. Aged or widowed parents join the household of their son or daughter, either permanently or temporarily. Thus, in the absence of his son-in-law (A21) and of his wife (a18), A17 installs himself with his daughter (a22) and her baby (a23). She is the one who cooks manioc and cumaru nuts for the three.

603 On the other hand, grandparents behave toward their descendants
611 so as to show the permanence of the filial line. a14 takes special care of her granddaughters (daughter's daughters), orphaned by the mother, a8 and a9. She feeds them, bathes them, and the baby spends her days near her, and often the nights. When the group travels, she is the one who carries her when she can no longer walk. But above all, when a piece of game has been brought in by a hunter, one sees in the choice of beneficiaries, outlined in the heart of the group, the limits of a unit greater then the conjugal family, and whose reality appears only rarely in daily circumstances.

224 Thus, when a boa sucuri (irǐtasu, al: Eunectes murinus) has
602 been brought in one day by A17, he gives the tripe to his daughter a19, who passes it on to her sister a22; the latter divides it between a12 and a5 (her "daughters") and reserves a portion for herself; at the same time A17 cuts the body into portions which he gives to A13, A1, A21, and of which he keeps part. Here, the division is almost coextensive with the restricted group. But, in more serious circumstances (1), the division of an irara (inihǐnuklesu, al; Mustela sp.) by A21 gives rise to the following distributions:

A quarter to a18 (wife's mother);
A quarter to a2 (wife's elder sister);
A quarter to a14 (brother's wife);
A foot to a19 (wife's younger sister);
A half-head to A17 (wife's mother's husband).

[75] He consumes the rest with his wife and baby, and the beneficiaries divide their share with spouse and children. Thus in the heart of the group there is outlined an even more restricted unit:

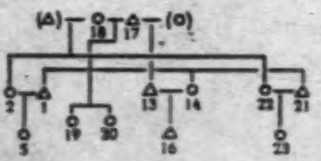

Fig. 17.

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1. P. 106 sq., cessation of menses (état de marge).

224 602 that of the members of a same bilateral family. Likewise, in the pounding of manioc, a2, a14, a18, a22 often work together and prepare a collective mass which will be divided among the same families, and will serve as food for the same persons as those represented in the above chart.

602 603 157 We do not know whether to attribute certain striking behavior of A17 to his classificatory position or to his individual characteristics. He is very clearly conscious of his almost patriarchal position in the midst of the group and of the fact that all the members, or almost all, are as regards him: asuittu, asuittu, tauëttu, tauëttu, tauëttu; he dwells on it, complacently enumerating the terms with grand gestures. He is gay, jovial and finds evident satisfaction in conversation about erotic subjects, contributions to which he enhances by mimicry and appropriate contortions. Within the group, in whose activities he shares only partially, he holds no authority, explicit or implicit.

RELATIVES AND ALLIED INDIVIDUALS
OR
COLLATERALS AND RELATIVES BY MARRIAGE

602 606 There is no apparent difference between the behavior of an individual as regards his spouse's parents and his behavior as regards his own parents. That is, from the point of view of individual relationships, the order of generations takes precedence over that of degrees. Parents-in-law, parents of the third degree, are concretely classed in the second generation ("fathers" and "mothers"). The same can be said for relationships of the wife's father and mother, or of the husband's, with the spouse of these latter. No special prohibition could be noted.

607 605 Sisters-in-law (aseëtasu, a1; ndëdere, b1) enjoy very free contacts among themselves. They laugh, joke together, do one another small services such as that of mutually rubbing the back with the tincture of urucu (Bixa orellana). However, one is in the presence of completely exceptional relationships [76] when one passes on to brothers-in-law (asûkosu, a1; tarûte, b1), or more exactly (since the name asûkosu does not arise from marriage with the sister but is previous to it) to cross-cousins (masc.).

838 Because of the fact of partial polygamy which reigns within
[595 the group, and which is manifested in the fact that the youngest
582] and prettiest women are periodically withdrawn by the chief or
605 the shaman from the regular cycle of marriage, the young men often find themselves in difficulty as regards marriage, at least during part of their adolescence, no potential wife being available. This problem is resolved by homosexual relationships, which the Nambikwara language (bl) has named poetically: tamindige kihãdige, that is false love. These relationships are frequent among young people and are carried on much more publicly than normal relations. The couples do not retire to the bush as the adults usually do. They install themselves near a fire of the camp under the amused eyes of the neighbors. The incident gives rise to some joking comments, usually not carried very far. These relations are considered infantile, and hardly any attention is paid them. The question remains unanswered for us as to whether these practices are carried on to complete satisfaction, or are limited to sentimental effusions, accompanied by erotic play such as those which characterizes, for the most part, relations between husband and wife. Whatever the case may be, the essential point here is that homosexual relations are exclusively relations between cross cousins. Whenever one seeks information from an Indian concerning a relationship of the type just described, the typical response obtained is:

25. tarutebãdige tamĩndige (bl)
(those are) two brothers-in-law making love.

838 We have not been able to ascertain if these relationships of
605 adolescence continue between adults. It seems hardly probable.
607 But relationships of a very special nature are maintained between "brothers-in-law. They exhibit great familiarity toward one another, have among themselves effusions such as we have never noted among brothers or relatives of another degree. Among the
[201] Nambikwara (always prodigious, of course, with affectionate gestures) it is not rare to see two or three men, married and fathers of families, walking in the evening tenderly embracing. The information obtained is, here too, always the same:

26. tarũte ialhasiʔete. (bl)
The brothers-in-law are embracing.

607 Certain games, like the "the game of claws (griffes)"
524 (kajrobĩtunubi, c) are frequent among brothers-in-law.

605 But the relationship of "cross-cousins potentially or effectively allied by the marriage of their sister" —which seems to be the most adequate equivalent of the [77] term tarûte—can be extrapolated largely above and beyond family relationships. In certain cases, it is used to create, among individuals without relations, original ties whose role is to fuse, indirectly, in a same family group, groups formerly heterogenous. It was noted
621 at the beginning of this work (1) that the central and southern
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groups have decreased quite considerably owing to the epidemics of the last fifteen years. Some of them have seen their power reduced to such a degree that the following of an independent social existence in such conditions might seem an illusory objective. Certain ones then grouped together in the hope of reconstituting a workable unity. Thus it is that when we found them the group designated under the title b1 (restricted), comprising 18 persons, and group c, comprising 34 persons, lived together, under the authority of their respective chiefs, but these working together. It is to be presumed also that the decrease in number was not the only reason for that alliance, and that group c represented a fraction of a more numerous group which it had been forced to flee for an undetermined reason. It probably sought greater security in the nomad's life shared with group b1. Some rather obscure events (2) which occurred during our stay let us glimpse the political background whose details we do not know. Whatever the case may be, the two groups traveled together, camped at the same times, but without mixing their fires, the constituent families forming two adjacent agglomerations. The most surprising trait of this or-
[[91]] ganization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and could not communicate with one another except through one or two individuals belonging to each group who acted as interpreters. Notably, no direct communication existed between B1, chief of the Tarundé, and his colleague C20, chief and shaman of group Sabané. In fact, if there is

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1. See p. 6.

2. See p. 103.

In fact, if there is
621 no doubt concerning the close affinity of dialects a1, a2, b1 and b2,
[197] which do not differ among themselves except as the derivations
182 of a mother language, dialect c offers, as regards the preceding,
184 such profound differences that one does not know if one is in the presence of a language of the same family. In any case, in whatever way linguistic study might resolve this problem, it can be reasonably set forth. We do not hesitate, nevertheless (and in spite of anthropological differences), to place group c in the cultural family of the Nambikwara, because of the identity of material culture and way of life, and especially because of the psychological attitude of groups b1, b2 and c as regards one another, who ostensibly recognize their community.

621 The union of the two groups posed a problem, that of the
605 nature of the relationships which would go on between their respective members. This problem [78] has been resolved by the recognition of all male members of group c as being "cross-cousins"—tarũte, of all the adult males of group b1, and of all the adult males of group b1 as being the jópa (corresponding to "cross-cousin" in the vocabulary of parentage of group c) of all the adult males of group c. The result, consequently, is that if all the husbands of the two groups are "brothers-in-law among themselves," all the "wives" of a group are "sisters" of the husbands of the other, and all the children of both sexes, in a group, potential husbands or wives of the infants of the other group belonging to the opposite sex. The blood fusion of the two groups is thus definitely assured for the following generation. Here is a type situation which one finds thus realized:

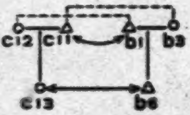

Fig. 18.

The systematic character of this solution is not doubtful. The informants belonging to group b or to group c, when we interrogated them concerning their kinship relationship regarding a male adult of the allied group, never furnished us with a special answer concerning the considered case, but remarked

621 605 instead that *all* the Sabanê men were for them *tarũte*, or that *all* the Tarundê men were *jõpa*. As a general rule they did not take the trouble to formulate relationships between women, between children, or between adults and children. In all these cases, except several occasions when the deduction was specifically made, they gave as an answer the name of the group: it is called "Sabanê" or "Tarundê." It is thus in the function of the relationship of *tarũte* or *jõpa* (*asũkosu*, *a1*) that the system has been conceived and applied.

This fact merits attention, for if the goal of the system were only to assure intermarriages, one could proceed in two other ways, or, more exactly, give two other interpretations for the same solution; one consisting of posing all the women as "sisters-in-law," the other treating all the men of one group and all the women of the other, respectively, as being among themselves "brothers and sisters," and the result would have been the same. Of course, these two aspects are implied in the proposed solution, as its correlaries. However, the solution itself, which could be presented in three different and equivalent ways, has actually been thought, in preferential fashion, to be in the function of the relationship existing between the male and allied collaterals. Several suggestions should thus be examined.

601 [79] Of the three possible solutions, two implied taking the women into consideration, one only was purely masculine, and it is that one which has been chosen. One must not be astonished if, as we suppose, the problem posed was a political problem, thus arising from command, exclusively exercised by the men, and not by a normal play of filiation, which seems rather a
[582] matter of female lineage (1). Although in a simple system of marriage between cross-cousins, as is the Nambikwara system, the "brothers-in-law among themselves" can be as easily the fathers of the mothers as the fathers of the fathers, this choice gives to the Nambikwara sociology, which to the present time we have had trouble characterizing from this point of view, a decidedly masculine tint, or rather, it bears witness of a tendency in that direction, at the same time that it constitutes the first outline of a social system coming to superimpose itself on the purely family structures to which we have been limited

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1. See p. 39.

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601 up to the present time. We do not pretend to found a dualistic theory of organization (2) on these limited observations whose character remains anecdotal. However, we are indeed in the presence of one of those cases where "the fundamental traits of the clan organization are found, in a certain measure, to be preformed in tribes destitute of clan (3)." It would suffice, to satisfy the exigencies of dualistic organization, that the new group should settle down, and maintain the memory of its ambiguous origin by continuing to avoid confusing the two sets of fires.

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[648] Finally, this system manifests, under a new aspect, this preponderance of men which we have called attention to as regards inter-individual relationships. It is through the men that alliances of groups are decided, as also eventually, their wars.

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000 The preceding remarks have perhaps another interest: that of suggesting an interpretation of observations of a sociological character which one finds scattered in the ancient literature relating to South America.

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171 One should first note some striking analogies between certain traits of the Nambikwara kinship system and those which can be attributed to the family organization of the ancient Tupi of the Brazilian shore. It will be seen later that, on the metaphysical plan, there are not only themes common to the two cultures, but that such religious terms of the Nambikwara vocabulary have an evident Tupi origin. Each time that we are to describe the small incidents of the daily life of the Nambikwara, the temptation is almost irresistible [80] to quote Jean de Léry and Yves d'Evreux, for it is so true that the same words of these old authors can literally be applied to one cultuer, later by four centuries. But it is in the kinship system that the resemblances are the clearest: the two cultures invoke

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2. This point has been developed before; cf. "Dual organization etc.," loc. cit.

3. R. H. Lowie, "Family and Sib," American Anthropologist, N.S., Vol. 21, 1919, pp. 28-40.

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the three same fundamental principles: distinction of the brothers and sisters of the parents into parallel uncles and aunts called "fathers" and "mothers," and cross-uncles and aunts called "fathers-in-law" and "mothers-in-law"; preferential marriage between cross-cousins, with the concomitant assimilation of parallel cousins to "brothers" and "sisters"; finally avuncular marriage, which seems to have been the rule among the ancient Tupi, in the form of a preferential union between the mother's brother and the sister's daughter. (1)

> 1. There should be added the distinction of brothers and sisters into "elder" and "younger."

The first principle springs directly—and the other two indirectly—from an important text of Anchieta which we shall quote here:

"But in speaking of relationships they never use this word etê (true) because since they call the brothers of their fathers 'father,' and the sons of their brothers 'son,' and the sons of the uncles, brothers of the fathers, 'brother,' in order to declare who is their true father or son, they say xeruba xemonhangara, my father 'who begot me' and in the case of the son, xeraira xeremimonhanga, my son 'whom I begot'; and thus never did I hear the Indian call his wife xeremireco etê, but rather simply xeremireco or xeraicig, 'mother of my children'; nor did I ever hear a woman call her husband xemenete, 'true husband,' but rather simply xemena or xemembira ruba, 'father of my children'; which terms they use for men with whom they are living as well as for their recognized husbands; and if the husband ever calls one of his wives xeremireco etê, he means 'my most esteemed or dearest wife,' who often is the last one he has taken." (2)

> 2. "Informação dos Casamentos dos Indios do Brasil," Revista Trimensal del Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. VIII, 1846, I (2nd Series), pp. 254-262; p. 259.

This text offers a supplementary interest. It shows that the Tupi, like the Nambikwara, were not stopped by the problem of the distinction between real parents and classificatory parents. In the two cases, the need of special terms was not felt, and one is limited to referring, when necessary, to physiological considerations. (3)

> 4. Cf. before, p .[sic]

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601 The reader will find other indications concerning the assimilation of
171 the brother of the father to a classificatory father in Soares de
Souza (4).

4. "Roteiro do Brasil," Revista do Instituto, etc., Vol. XIV, 1851, p. 316-317.

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601 The old authors often describe the marriage of cross-cousins
582 among the Tupi, as well as that of uncle with niece. Here again
171 we shall first refer to Anchieta:

"They do not call daughters of sisters temerico etê, nor are they considered as such; because many Indians, since they have several nieces—and very attractive women they are—do not make use of them; but since brothers have so much power over sisters, they consider that [81] nieces belong to them (the brothers), so that they may consider them as wives and use them ad libitum if they so desire, just as they give their sisters themselves to some men and take them away from others. Taragoaj, a very important Indian of the village of Jaribiatiba, which is in the area of São Vicente, had two wives, and one of them was his niece, daughter of his sister..."(1)

1. Loc. cit., p. 259.

Farther on, the two types of marriage are seen as symmetrical institutions: "...porque os pais lhes dão as filas e os irmãos as irmas." Staden also alludes to the marriage of cousins: "They also offer as a gift their daughters and their sisters." (2) The same type of thing is

2. Hans Staden. The true history of his captivity (ed. Malcolm Letts), London, Vol. II, Ch. 18, p. 146.

T found in Soares de Souza, Claude d'Abbeville and many others.
N With a sharp sociological sense, Anchieta discovers a connection
[842] between the marriage with the sister's daughter and the recognition
of the man as alone responsible for conception. One remembers
that this theory is also shared by the Nambikwara:

"Since they respect the daughters of brothers, they call them
daughters, and consider them as such; and thus they consider them
inviolate because they have a true relationship, coming from the
[842] father, who is the agent; and the mothers are nothing more than

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601 receptacles with respect to the fathers, receptacles in which children
171 are deposited, and for this reason the sons of fathers, if they are born
[842] of slaves or captives taken from another tribe, are always free and
582 just as esteemed as the others; and the sons of women, if these sons are begotten by captives, are considered slaves and are sold, and sometimes they kill and eat them, even though they may be their own grandchildren, sons of their daughters, and for this reason also they use the daughters of sisters with no prejudice at intercourse, but there is no obligation or universal custom to consider them as true wives, more than the others, as has been stated above. And for this reason the fathers marry them now to their uncles, brothers of the mothers, if the parties are agreeable, by virtue of the power which they have to deal with them as they wish, something which until now is not done with nephews, sons of brothers, nor even in other relationships which are more distant and which come through the line of the fathers, because among the Indians this is considered very strange." (3)

3. Loc. cit., p. 259-260.

Without doubt the marriage of cross-cousins is widespread throughout the whole of South America. (4) But among the Tupi it

4. Thus Breton, concerning the Caraib of the Antilles says: "First cousins whom we call sons of the brothers of the father are called brothers, and these brothers of the father are also called fathers; and the children of these brothers do not contract alliances together, but rather with the children of the sisters of their fathers." (Dictionnaire Caraïbe-François, Auxerre, 1665, p. 11.)

was rather avuncular marriage which held the attention of the first travelers. Thus, Léry notes: "As for the uncle, he takes his niece" (as a wife); and Thevet: "From the time they are born, the maternal uncle raises them and retains them for future wives." (5) Magalhães

5. Léry, loc. cit. II, Ch. XVII, p. 85;
Thevet, Cosmogonie universelle, p. 932.

de Gandavo expresses himself inexactly, without doubt, but [82] in

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601 the same sense when he writes: "It is their custom to marry the
171 women who are their nieces, daughters of their brothers of their
582 sisters; they regard them as their true and legitimate wives. The fathers of these women cannot refuse them, and no one, except their uncle, can claim to marry them (1)." One can refer also to

1. Pedro de Magalhes de Gandavo, The Histories of Brazil, The Cortès Society, New York, 1922, II, ch. X, p. 89.

Nobrega, Vasconcellos, Soares de Souza (2).

2. Nobrega, Cartas do Brazil, 1549-1560, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, p. 148;--Vasconcellos, Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil, Lisboa, 1865, I. LXXXII, p. 133; Soares de Souza, Tratado, CLVII, CLII.

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595 As regards polygamy and the distinction, so clear among the
171 Nambikwara, between the first wife devoted to household tasks and the secondary wives, companions of the men and sharing their obligations, it will be remembered that Magalhães de Gandavo alludes to a category of women actually unmarried, but who take part in masculine activity (3).

3. Gandavo, loc. cit., II, Ch. 10, p. 89. One will find other information about the family organization of the ancient Tupi in: A. Métraux, La religion des Tupinamba (Paris, Leroux, 1928), passim; —Lafone Quevedo, "Guarani kinship terms as an index of social organization (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21, 1919), p. 421-440; —P. Kirchhoff, "Die Verwandschaftorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, 1931, Ch. 15, p. 182).

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607 All of these observations authorize us to trace a parallel between
171 the extension of the relationship of "brother-in-law" among the Nambikwara, and a custom, seemingly very close, of the ancient Tupi. First we quote from Yves d'Evreux: " A party of Frenchmen was dispersed throughout the villages to live there according to the

T N 607 171 customs of the country, which is to have Chetouasaps or hosts or godfathers, giving them merchandise instead of money; and this hospitality or godfathership is very strict among them: for they actually consider you their children while you live with them, they go hunting and fishing for you, and moreover their custom was to give their daughters to their godfathers" (4). Farther on he speaks of the "French who were lodged by godfathership in these villages."(5)

T 592 The indigenous institution is confirmed by Jean de Léry (6): "it is to be noted that these words Atourassap and Coton-assap differ, for the first signifies a perfect alliance among them and between them and us, to the extent that the goods of one are common to the other. And also that they cannot have the daughter or the sister of the first named." The "Coton-assap" is consequently, inversely as regards the preceding, privileged in two forms of marriage: that with the sister of his partner, who makes him a "brother-in-law," and that with her daughter, that is an admission to the number of maternal uncles, making of him a N theoretical brother of the wife, which leads to the same result.

N T 607 171 [83] It is necessary to note another analogy in the relationship between brothers-in-law among the Nambikwara and among the Tupi. All the texts which we have quoted agree in admitting the existence among the Tupi of a sort of authority exercised by the young men over their sisters. The marriage of cross-cousins seems to result from a mutual exchange of sisters among the men who are related in this way. The same thing can be said when the father gives his daughter to his wife's brother. Thus, actual or potential brothers-in-law are tied by a relationship of a special nature, founded on an exchange of services N of a sexual order. We have seen that such a relationship also exists [838] among the Nambikwara brothers-in-law, with this difference that among the Tupi these services fall back on the sisters and daughters,

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4. Voyage dans le nord du Brésil. Ed. F. Denis, Leipzig and Paris, II, 14.

5. Loc. cit., XXVIII, 109.

6. Loc. cit. II, Ch. 20, p. 133; cf. also, Cardim, Tratado da Terra e da Gente do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 1925, p. 169-170.

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607 while (besides the preceding form) the Nambikwara brothers-in-law
171 exchange payment directly in the form of homosexual relationships,
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[838] which make up for the absence of an available sister.

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We may now draw a conclusion. The ancient Tupi were acquainted
171 with two types of preferential marriage: the marriage of cross-
582 cousins, and avuncular marriage. The first appeared normally in
607 the form of an exchange of sisters between two cross-cousins; the
601 second resulted from a privilege over the daughter of the sister exercised by the mother's brother, or conceded to the latter by the sister's husband. In the two cases, the marriage is based on a pact between cross-cousins, brothers-in-law in right or in fact—which is the definition which we have retained for the Nambikwara terms *tarúte* or *iópa*. Moreover, this relationship of "brother-in-law" can be established under the name of *chetouasap* (Yves d'Evreux) or *cotonassap* (Léry) between individuals which no bond of kinship united before, or relatives of a different or more distant type, and even between strangers (as was the case between French and Indians). The goal was to make possible intermarriage and to amalgamate families or groups, until that time heterogeneous, into a new social unit. One recognizes the procedure which we have described in connection with the fusion of the Sabané and Tarundé (1) groups.

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1. The South American practice of utilizing kinship relationships to translate and establish social ties is attested by Von den Steinen (*Unter der Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens*, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), whom the Bakairi had decided to call "older brother" and the Mehinaku "maternal uncle." We have just established the equality of the terms "brother-in-law" and "maternal uncle" in a system of marriage between cousins (cross-) joined to the avuncular marriage. As to the use of the term "elder brother," this calls for two observations. In the first place, the kinship system of the Bororo, who are not far distant from the Xingu, modifies each generation in two stages of which the one (elder) is assimilated to the younger members of the former generation and the other (younger) to the older members of the next generation. In such a system, an "elder brother" might be, in fact, a real uncle and a potential brother-in-law. The second point brings to a focus the logical difference between

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601 two types of solidarity, the one, mechanical and expressed by the term brother, and the other, organic, expressed by the term brother-in-law. We have alluded to this above, p. 71.

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601 One might object that the old authors might have interpreted doubtful observations in the light of European facts. As we shall propose [84] the name of *compérage* to designate an institution which we believe to be authentically Indian, it will be useful to stop for a moment at this aspect of the problem.

Without doubt the facts analyzed above, and the European institution of *compérage* [compaternity]offer striking analogies. At the beginning, the godfather and the godmother were connected with one another, and both of them to the parents of the child, by the mystic bonds of sponsorship. But the relationship soon became secularized in all the small rural communities, or, more exactly, everywhere where the family grouping takes precedence over the extended social group. The relationship is then employed to establish an artificial kinship line, or even, as happens among the Nambikwara to translate in kinship terms a simple phenomenon of spatial contiguity. (1) The strangers, the newcomers, are adopted thanks to the reciprocal usage of the appellations of godfather and godmother which they receive from—and return to—their contemporaries. On the other hand, the stranger usually assimilates himself by taking a wife in his new community, and the terms godfather and brother-in-law become synonyms so rapidly that the men allied by marriage only call one another by the first. In the villages of Mediterranean Europe and of Latin America, the godfather or "compadre" is an actual or potential brother-in-law. That in certain regions of Central or South America the analogy between the Indian and European institutions has aided the first to establish and modernize itself is not doubtful. Thus, in Mexico, the primitive institution of the *moste*, that is, obligation, for the heads of families to exchange presents periodically now functions in the framework of the relations of "compadres," the Spanish term offering a convenient translation of the ancient Otomi. (2)

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1. This derivation is well brought to light by etymology: in English, god-sib becomes gossip.

2. Jacques Soustelle, *La famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique central*, Paris, Institut D'Ethnologie, 1937.

114 But the formal analogy of the two institutions should not disguise
601 their truly opposite characters. In the Latin-Mediterranean society
the bond, formerly mystic and now social, of comperage, can be
transformed by marriage into an actual kinship line. Among the
[17] ancient Tupi, and among the Nambikwara, it is, on the contrary,
the concrete kinship which furnished its model to a type of bond
utilized to establish wider relationships.

That having been posed, there are two reasons why our authors could not have elaborated a pseudo-Indian institution after a European model. In the first place, men as familiar with religious problems as were Yves d'Evreux, Cardim and Léry, could not have likened a relationship whose first consequence, and the probable object, was to permit new types of marriage, to the relationship between godfather, godmother and relatives who observed very severe enforcement [85] of the prohibitions of marriage, especially since the thirteenth century. At the time when they were writing, the question had actuality, since it was set down in the program of the Council of Trent, where the ancient rules had to be a little softened. But we have a more decisive argument. From the arrival of the first missionaries, the two institutions, European and Indian, must have evolved side by side, especially among the baptized Indians. But neither they nor their European priests ever interpreted Christian sponsorship in terms of Indian compaternity. On the contrary, and more logically since the newly introduced institution carried restrictions regarding marriage, they treated it as a modality of the relationship of paternity. They likened the godfather to a classificatory father: "Thus, they (the children who come to receive baptism) regarded their godfathers as their real fathers and called them Cherou, meaning "my father," the French called them Cheaire, which means "my son," and the little girls Cheagire, "my daughter"... (1)

1. Yves d'Evreux, 1. c., II, 1, p. 234.

607 We believe we have assembled enough information concerning the fundamental character of the relationship between brothers-in-law in the South American society so that the nucleus of an original institution of compaternity can be seen in it which appears still living among the Nambikwara. The documents here presented suggest (2)

2. An English version of these observations has been published under the title: "The social use of kinship

607 terms among brazilian indians," American Anthropologist Vol. 45, No. 3, 1943. In an interesting article dedicated to the Tupi system ("Notas sobre a interpretacão sociologica de alguns designativos de parentesco do Tupi-Guarani," Etnografia e lingua Tupi-Guarani, No. 9, São Paulo, 1946), J. Philipson reproaches me for having limited the relationship of compaternity to South America, and he invokes the example of numerous tribes of North America. That is to attribute too much ignorance to me: it is indeed certain that there exist, in the entire world, innumerable cases of special relationships between brothers-in-law, both cordial and hostile. But by including pell-mell all of these examples, one would fall back into errors of the old comparative sociology. By the term "compaternity" I have wished to identify a precise complex institution, where there come together in correlation a particular kinship system, well defined rules of marriage, and certain traditional psychological attitudes. It is possible, and even reasonable, that one could find this uniformity in other regions of the world. But none of the examples mentioned by Philipson reveal this clearly.

its vast distribution in indigenous America of former times.

Part II

SOCIAL LIFE

128 It is obviously impossible, when one studies the existence of small nomadic bands all of whose members are related among themselves or from one band to the other, by a kinship relationship, to trace a clear line of separation between family life and social life. Many traits which come from the latter have been pointed out in the preceding pages. We shall not examine then in this chapter, more than certain aspects of the social life which concern the collective whole, either in its own existence or in its relations with neighboring groups.

622 Each band recognizes the leadership of a chief (johéru, a1/2; yilikãde, b1/2; yelikápara, c). He commands the group, or more exactly the group of adult men who are his "companions" (nukanáyore, b1/2). These see to it that the orders are carried out by their wives, who are rarely consulted. The women conform to the decisions of the men, but they do not, in the collective plane, execute them directly. They take part in this only inside their family group, within the limits of sexual division of labor such as we have previously described it. The tasks of the chief are diverse. The principal and most permanent consist of the administration of the group. It is the chief who decides the seasonal occupations at the beginning of the nomadic period,

27. yilikákamaniene ajtmaseneje (b1)
the chief commands: everybody on their way!

the moment and place where they will camp for the rains, the gardening work and choice of plantations, the construction of huts, the itineraries of trips and times of stopping, hunting expeditions, gathering or collecting trips, the conduct to be observed as regards neighboring groups. His role is generally summed up by the formula:

28. yilikã nádana dénate (b1)
the chief walks ahead. (1)

1. Thus, the philosophy of power does not seem to have been modified among the Brazilian Indians since the far-away day when, upon the occasion of an encounter made at Rouen, Montaigne made this statement: "Concerning what I asked him as to the fruits which he received from the superiority which he enjoyed among his people (for he was a Capitan and we sailors named him King), he told me that it was to be the first to march to war..." (Essais, éd. de la Pléiade, Paris, 1939, Ch. 31 "Des Cannibales").

He also goes away much more frequently than his companions, for [illegible] one or more days, accompanied by one or two of his polygamous wives who assist him in his enterprises, (2) with the purpose of

2. See above, p. 60 f.

622 discovering grains or fruits, [87] groves of piquy (a type of fir), of
623 caju (Anacardium sylvestre), the heads of streams frequented by small game, where to lead his group, always searching for means of subsistence. His role is also that of maintaining internal discipline and of opposing the bad intentions of recalcitrants:

29. odnanjenwaqtənje hutento igaiagatiene (bl)
Lazy one, I order you, that is enough, to work!

The only sanction at his disposition is that of obtaining the agreement of his companions to expell one who has become guilty of a fault (1) or who shows himself to be rebellious to collective life.

1. Cf. below, p. 111.

But that is only possible in the case where a single member of the group shows lack of discipline. The chief should show a continual talent which is more closely related to electoral politics than to the exercise of power, to maintain his group, and if possible, to enlarge
622 it by new adherents. The nomadic band in fact represents a fragile
621 unit. If the authority of the chief becomes too demanding, if he monopolizes too great a number of women, if he is not capable in periods of need of resolving the food problems, discontent is created, individuals or families break away, and go to attach themselves to a related band whose affairs seem to be better conducted—better nourished thanks to the discovery of a hunting or collecting site, or richer because of barter with neighboring groups, or more powerful after victorious wars. The chief then finds himself at the head of a too restricted group, incapable of facing daily difficulties, or whose women are exposed to being carried off by stronger neighbors, and he is obliged to renounce his command in order to join a more happy faction with his faithful followers; the Nambikwara society is thus in a state of perpetual flux. Groups form, are broken up, grow and disappear and, in several months' time sometimes the composition, number and division of bands become unrecognizable. All of these transformations are accompanied by intrigues and conflicts, by rises and falls, the whole being produced at an extremely rapid rhythm.

622 In exchange for the authority which they recognize in him, his companions are very demanding in regard to their chief; and if a decision made by him places the group in some difficulty, he is left alone to find means of surmounting it. We remember a trip undertaken by mutual consent, rendered more difficult than had been thought by the necessity of discovering a new itinerary along which our mules

622 and oxen for carrying could pass. The provisions of manioc proved to be insufficient and one morning the little band found itself without anything to eat. Our own attempts to kill some animal were in vain, and the worst [88] bad humor began to reign, the chief of the group being obviously held responsible for an affair which we, he and I, had contrived. In place of undertaking a hunting or collecting expedition, each one decided to go to sleep in the shade of shelters, and they left the chief alone to find the solution to the problem. He disappeared, accompanied by one of his wives (his first wife a2, [622 contrary to usual procedure; but a3 and a4 shared the general irrita- 415] tion) and toward evening both were seen reappearing, their heavy baskets filled with grasshoppers which they had spent the entire day [262] catching. Although grasshopper pie is not a particularly esteemed dish, everyone ate with good appetite and found his good humor again. They took up the journey again the next morning.

But other things than these exceptional relief measures are expected of the chief. He must sing and dance willingly and well, and be capable of animating the collective life. He must organize the work in the most reasonable way in order to eliminate useless fatigue and effort. Thus on the eve of a departure, B1 recites for us his order of march:

30. mãdotige mãdohãdhudne hajtehãdige nãnjehnile
nietnonãnahara janehara kanahanĩndeere hinkãnaha
iinãamnje ãkeena iinaamnje ihikoro ihikoro. (b1)
When it is hot, one is tired, one is hungry, the
children walk badly; when one marches at dawn,
one marches well, at dawn, one should march, change
routes, march; on the way! .on the way!

He must also win over his companions by numerous gifts. According to B1, who gives in willingly to the servitude of power, generosity plays a fundamental role in determining the degree of popularity which the new chief will enjoy, and the companions indulge in all sorts of speculations:

31. giliikã abẽni ãjnire tanun?ẽntutnagiliikã agnhãhare
tamãrjani (b-1)
The chief is leaving; the one who will come will give me
a great deal. --"Chief! Be generous! Give to me!"

The presents thus anticipated consist of food or objects which the chief will have made himself with the assistance of his polygamous wives, or that he will have procured by good exchanges with neighboring bands, or which might come from war booty. Often, it seems, 622 he is incapable of satisfying increasing demands, and must refuse firmly:

32. hánde hóta agnáre hóta (b1)
The giving is finished! Being generous is finished!

[89] or must even pose the question of confidence:

33. duhíʔri (gi) dnḭẽ tununadḭẽ tunúnʔentine háknereḛjane (b1)
Go away! Giving is done with! Let another be generous (in my place)!

622 648 However it evidently depends on his ability and moderation whether or not these refusals keep the demands of his companions within reasonable limits or provoke discontent and resulting ruptures. Under these conditions, the relationships which the chief succeeds in cementing with the outside world—other Nambikwara bands and neighboring tribes—have extreme importance. The chief has traveled widely. Within the limits of his territory, he has visited tribes different from his own and which his companions know only through his commentaries. We ourselves have had the impression of being used for political purposes: we have told above what the reactions of A1 were as regards writing. (1) He wished on this basis to attempt a vast operation, and he united several related bands under the pretext of meeting us, begging us without explanation to postpone the exchange of objects with the Indians. This enigmatic attitude lasted till the day when, assembling all his guests in a circle, he exhibited a piece of paper covered with wavy lines, and made a pretense of reading to each individual the nature and importance of the present which I was supposed to give to each one. All that with my complicity, obviously stupefied and immediately acquired. The Indians were even more impressed. The plan, such as we were able to understand it, consisted of fortifying his power by presenting himself as the sponsor and protector of the white visitor, whose secrets he was reputed to know at the same time. But the card of civilization thus played is assuredly vain. Six months later, we found A1 at the head of a severely reduced group and without illusion as to the failure of his vast projects. He watched us leave with real sadness, as though he were losing, with us, the last vestige of his prestige.

622 The charges of leadership being presented under such unattractive colors, one might ask what makes an individual accept them. It was not possible for us to determine exactly what the modalities are to be

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1. See above, p. 40 f.

622 named chief. One single point is clear: his functions are not hereditary. When the acting chief falls ill or becomes too old to carry on his charge, he points out from among the members of the group the one who will be his successor, doubtless influenced in his choice by collective opinion. He makes the decision public by the formula: hẹį ụilikãde (b1): "this one will be chief," and thus the continuity of power is assured:

34. ụilikaa dõterige tịáhĩ'liki'herage nlaụre ụilikãde (b1)
When the chief dies, another chief comes in his place.

[90] But it happens that the person in question caring little for the heavy responsibilities which await him, declines the honor which has just been done him:

35. ũtnjane ũntụilikã í'likãdnere (b1)
I do not wish to take the place of the chief.

and it is necessary to proceed to a new choice. What are then the motives which might determine the acceptance? Sexual preoccupations certainly play a role. If the newly elected is young, in place of going through a long period of celibacy or of being forced to marry an old woman, he will find himself in the privileged position of having several companions. If he is already married, he can add to his wife the youngest and prettiest among the available women of the group, or among those who will be conquered in war, and eventually obtain those whom he would desire and who would be already married.

C20, having lost his wives through illness or for some other reason, found himself a bachelor. He then took his young wife (c21) [50] from another husband, under the pretext that the latter was "too young to have a wife." Undoubtedly his liking of responsibility must equally be taken into consideration, his sense of leadership, ambition, and his desire for a fuller existence than that of normal life. The only two chiefs with whom we had any real personal contacts (A1 and B1) were both individuals of particularly lively spirit and, in giving to the term the sense which it might possess in these societies, more cultivated than their companions. (1)

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1. The Indian theory of command has been the object of a more detailed study: C. Lévi-Strauss, Chief and chieftainship among a primitive tribe: The Nambikwara of Northwestern Matto Grosso. Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, 1944.

622 The command carries, moreover, a certain number of fixed offices. It is the chief who makes the poison for arrows; and he presides over ceremonies of initiation, of marriage or burial, concerning which we shall speak later. He organizes chants and dances, festivals both when they assume a ritual character, and when they
622 have as a goal purely secular distraction. It is he who organizes
526 ball games. The ball game is widespread in western and northern Mato Grosso, for it is found from the Paressi to the tribes of the Lower Guaporé. Among the latter people we have been able to gather evidences of its sociological significance. It is perhaps the same among the Nambikwara; but, at least during the period of nomadic life, the ball game is practiced with a purely recreational goal in mind. The teams are built up haphazardly from those present and upon the spur of the moment, and the game takes place in a spirit of complete improvisation.

WAR AND TRADE

648 The two subjects should be treated simultaneously, commercial
609 exchanges usually representing potential wars peacefully re-[91]
439 solved, and the wars, the outcome of unhappy transactions. Among the numerous bands which cross through the bush during the dry season, it is necessary to distinguish those who are related by family ties, and who often represent the population of a winter village—or of a group of villages—which has "burst forth" in the pursuit of the nomadic life. Among themselves these bands entertain relationships which are normally pacific, although not necessarily so. On the contrary, bands which are strangers to one another, composed of members not related among themselves and whose geographic location is far distant, or who are even separated by differences of language, mistrust one another at the same time that they feel themselves necessary to one another. Only when they meet can they procure desirable articles which only one of them is capable of obtaining or of making. These articles seemed to us to belong essentially to three categories: first of all women, whom only victorious expeditions are permitted to
[283] carry off. Next seeds, notably bean seeds, and finally ceramics, or even fragments of pottery used to make the weights of spindles. Group
[184] a1 whose cultural level is clearly inferior (especially in its ignorance concerning pottery) to that of its western and southern neighbors, according to the word of its chief, had carried on several campaigns during the last few years with the goal of procuring these two last articles.

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609 Also, the attitude of two bands who know that they are neighbors is very significant. They fear the clash of contact, and at the same time they desire it. In fact, they cannot meet one another accidentally, for for several weeks they watch the vertical smoke from the campfire which rises, perfectly discernable at some twenty kilometers, into the middle of the clear sky of the cold season. It is one of the most impressive spectacles of the Nambikwara territories when towards evening this smoke suddenly fills a horizon which one had thought deserted. Is the band which approaches friend or foe? They do not know, and they discuss at length their course of conduct. For days or weeks they avoid one another by maintaining a reasonable distance between the fires, then one day, according to whether the contact appears inevitable, desirable, or necessary, the women and children scatter in the bush and the men leave to face the unknown. We attended one of these "encounters" (nakohatige, b1). A long conversation is entered upon (deχnihotige, b1) between the two bands reduced to their masculine elements, or more exactly, the leaders undertake, in turn, a sort of prolonged monologue, composed of exclamations, uttered one after another, in a tone at the same time plaintive and tearful, where the voice rises and trails off in nasal fashion at the end of each word. The group animated by warlike intentions exposes its grief. The peaceful protest their good intentions. It was not possible for us to reconstruct the word for word translation of this discourse. However, we give here the Indian text, insofar as we have been [92] able to get it, and its approximate translation, for the purpose of showing the construction and specific tone:

[537] 36. One group begins: njaroeńdigẽ ninökuẽ́. -"We are ~~very~~ irritated! you are our enemies!" And, after a series of exclamations of this type, the other replies: já orauẽ touadeẽ nuhaigiʔi'n nuk maetiẽ nuk najni nukenitenohi'n moladeringui'n nagataʃiniot endiguẽ. -- "We are not irritated! We are your brothers! We are friends! Your friends! True friends! We can understand one another." (b1)

After having exchanged these peaceful protestations, the groups reform and a common encampment is organized, each group preserving its individuality and gathering together its fires, and sometimes songs and dances are organized in the course of which each group disparages its own exhibition to the profit of that of the other group:

648 37. tamaĩn ãitne munãitjere munãijenãitiore njanĩ (bl)
604 The Tamandé sing well; as for me, I cannot sing well any more!

201 *In one case which we witnessed*, the general tone was quickly raised with the excitement of the meeting, and the night had not yet ended before the speeches mixed with chants made an extraordinary uproar, whose significance escaped us completely. Menacing gestures were outlined, sometimes even some scuffles were produced while other Indians intervened as mediators. All of these hostile manifestations are stylized, and end as gestures calling to mind sexual parts of the body. On the part of the aggressor, menace, or the gesture of Nambikwara hostility, consists of seizing the penis with two hands and directing it towards the adversary while inflating the stomach and thrusting it out, and of flexing the knees (the men also make this gesture in fun toward children when they wish to get rid of them). The second stage consists of an act of aggression toward the person [291] of the adversary, with a view to tearing off the piece of buriti straw attached to the front of the waist, above the sex organs. The latter "are hidden by the straw" and "they fight to tear away the straw." This action is entirely symbolic, for the covering of the male sex organs is made of such fragile material and is reduced so small in size (and often non-existent) that it is out of the question for it to assure protection of or be any kind of covering for the organs. Another form of aggression consists of seizing the adversary's bow and arrows and laying them aside. In all of these actions the attitude of the Indians is extremely tense as if they were (and really, they are) in a state of violent and contained anger. Doubtless these brawls degenerate at times into generalized conflicts, but in our case, they calmed down at dawn. Always [93] in the same state of apparent irritation, and with gestures devoid of friendship, the adversaries looked at one another to inspect one another, rapidly [301] feeling the earrings, the cotton bracelets, the little feather ornaments, while murmuring rapid words:

38. tõhẽ tõhẽ kãhẽ kãhẽ muninĩti (bl)
Give, give, see, see, it is pretty!

648 This "inspection of reconciliation" marks the normal conclusion
439 of the conflict. And actually it is this which introduces the new aspect which the relationships between the two groups are going to take—commercial exchanges. However summary the material culture of the Nambikwara may be, the products of the industry of the different groups are highly prized by their neighbors. The eastern groups need pottery and seeds; the northern and central groups consider

648 that their southern neighbors make particularly nice necklaces. Also
439 the meeting of the two groups, when it can take place in a peaceful
[431] manner, has as a consequence a series of reciprocal presents. The
always impending conflict gives way to a market. This has some
very remarkable characteristics in the sense that if one regards the
presents only as presents, they do not bring any thanks nor proof of
satisfaction. And if one considers them exchanges, they are effected
without any bargaining, attempts to set the value of the article,
depreciation, or manifestation of disagreement between the parties.
Truthfully, they take pains not to admit that there are exchanges
going on. Each goes about his usual occupations, and the objects or
products go from one to the other, without the one who gives making
note of the gesture by which he hands over his present, and without
the one who receives paying any attention to his new wealth. In this
way are exchanged husked cotton and balls of thread; blocks of wax
or resin; urucu paste; shells, earrings, bracelets and necklaces;
tobacco and seeds; feathers and sticks of bamboo destined for making
arrow points; skeins of palm fibers, porcupine quills; whole pots or
broken pottery; gourds. This mysterious circulation of merchandise
goes on without haste for a half day or a whole day, after which the
groups separate, and each one takes inventory of what he has received,
and remembers what he has given. Thus, as regards the equity of
the transactions, the Nambikwara trust entirely, the generosity of the
partner. The idea that one might estimate, discuss or bargain, demand
or take back is entirely foreign to them. We had promised an
Indian a hunting sword as the price of transporting a message to a
neighboring group. The commission was done, but upon the return
of the messenger we had neglected, occupied by other cares, to give
him immediately the agreed upon recompense, thinking that he himself
would come to get it. He did nothing, and the next day we
could not find him. He had left, very irritated his companions told
us, and we did not [94] see him again. We were forced to entrust
the present to another Indian. Under these conditions, it is not surprising
that when the exchanges are finished, one of the groups departs discontented
with its lot and, while taking inventory of its acquisitions
and recalling its own presents, accumulates bitterness for weeks or
721 months, which become greater and greater and more aggressive.
It seems that wars very often have no other origin. Naturally other
[562] causes exist, such as a murder or carrying off women, depending on
whether one desires to take the initiative, or whether one wishes to
avenge a preceding attack; but it does not seem that a band feels

[721 583] collectively obliged to make reprisals for an injury done one of its members. Much more often, given the very lively and permanent animosity which reigns between the groups, these pretexts good for exciting the spirit are voluntarily entertained, especially if they feel strong either because of the importance of the group's strength or because of an alliance with neighboring bands against a common enemy, concluded by the intermediary of messengers acting as [537] ambassadors. The proposition of war is presented by an exalted individual or one who exposes before his companions his particular griefs, in the same tone and style that speeches were made at the encounter.

39. ẽ akinãẽ ŝednãẽ yõdegãẽ kakonʔẽ ordnʔẽ yalauriŝenʔẽ.(b1) whose approximate sense is: "Hello! Come here! Let's go! I am irritated! very irritated! arrows! big arrows!" The Indians become so excited upon the occasion of these epic speeches that it is not possible to obtain the commentary of the formula except well after they have been cited and undoubtedly very unfaithfully. But war is not a matter of purely profane decision. It necessitates a preliminary ceremony which will determine if the signs are favorable or not. [292 535] Dressed in special attire, tufts of buriti straw dappled with red, hoods of jaguar skin, the men assemble under the leadership of the chief and execute the special dance and chant of war. (1) A divining rite [622 756 789] is then performed. The chief, or the sorcerer in the groups where he exists, goes solemnly to hide an arrow in a corner of the bush. The arrow is retrieved the next day. If it is covered with blood, the expedition is undertaken, if not, it is given up. (2) Many warlike expeditions thus begun end after several kilometers of marching.

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[787] 1. Dances and music will be the object of a special publication.

[197] 2. This symbolic use of an arrow seems typical of cultures situated north of the Amazon. The fact is interesting, given the northern affinities of the Nambikwara language. Concerning the use of the arrow as the message of war, cf. Roth, "An inquiry," etc., Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, p. 362; Koch-Grünberg, Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern, etc., Berlin, 1910, Vol. II, p. 316; Gumilla, Historia Natural del Rio Orinoco, Barcelona, 1791, Vol. I, p. 134.

721 Excitement and enthusiasm decline, and the group returns home.
But some are pushed until realized, [95] and can be very murderous.
726 The Nambikwara usually attack at dawn and extend their ambush by
dispersing throughout the bush. The signal for attack is given from
[534 place to place, thanks to the whistle which the Indians carry hanging
202] from their necks. This little whistle, composed of two bamboo tubes
[136] tied with cotton thread reproduces the cry of the cricket approximately,
and doubtless for that reason has the same name (*kalõde*) as this insect.

MAGIC, RITES AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

278 Some beliefs of a magical and religious character also play
[771] their role in social life. The most important is the notion of
nãnde (*bl*). To analyze it, we should first say a few words concerning poisons. The Nambikwara are very expert poisoners. They
make *curare* for their arrows, or at least for some of them, pre-
[415] served in little earthen pots. (1) Without enlarging here upon the manufacture of the *curare*, it must be noted that this preparation, although reserved for chiefs and sorcerers, is not surrounded by any ritual and does not give rise to any magical operation. The Indians make the *curare* publicly, applying recipes and taking precautions which are either essential to the effectiveness of the product or which constitute simple prejudices, but all of which have a positive character. Their attitude towards this poison thus may be considered as scientific. Along with *curare*, the Nambikwara know other poisons likewise of vegetable origin, and which take the form of powders
[415] contained in small tubes. These are made of quills, feathers, or
stalks of bamboo or other wood, cleaned out and corked at both ends with a piece of vegetable pith or cotton, and at times decorated with red dots and lines made with *urucu* paste. (2) These tubes are

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1. The study of the Nambikwara curare was made, on the occasion of our expedition, by our friend and companion Dr. J. A. Vellard. Cf. Vellard, "A preparacão do curare pelos Nambikwaras," *Revista do Archivo Municipal de São Paulo*, LIX, 1939, p. 5-16; "Communication à l'Académie de Médicine de Paris," id. LVIII, 1931, p. 117-118.

2. Cf. *Rondonia*. Roquette Pinto collected examples of these tubes and reproduced one of them (*Rondonia*,

278
[415] p. 239 and Fig. 34), but seems not to know their usage nor the nature of their content.

usually tied in bundles of two or three or more, and thus all the Indians possess a provision of poison from which they rarely become separated. We were not able to find out anything concerning the preparation of these drugs, but it seems that different varieties exist, used either by men or women. Notably, the poisons whose small doses are contained in the feather quills would be [96] according to an informant, women's poisons, and also much more to be feared. The "tube poisons" (as compared with the arrow poison which is only employed for hunting, and never for war) play an important role in inter-individual relationships. They are the usual instrument for amorous or commercial vengeance. To define these poisons, there are special terms according to dialects. Thus the arrow poison has a special name: ináru (a1); dádnesu (a2); tiiŕre, nãnde (b1); ájrare (b2); iriuá (c). But all of the arrow poisons and tube poisons are called by a more general term, belonging to dialect b1, but which is understood and used by all the groups: nấnde, which one might be wrongly tempted to translate as poison. It must be noted, however, from now on that in the case of tube poisons, the term nánde means the tube and its contents simultaneously.

789 However besides these "true" poisons which we shall call scientific, there are other substances whose supposed action is of a purely magical character. Certain tubes contain, not a powder meant to be mixed with food, but fragments of resin of the tree called "barrigudo" or [824] "barrigudeira" in Portuguese (Bombax ventriculosa) and sahárudiŕtaãru (a1/2), irídare (b1), jakíua (c) in Nambikwara. These fragments are used for certain "magic projections" which are carried out in the following way: a fragment of resin is placed between the lower edge of the palm of the left hand, held horizontally, and the tip of the index of the right hand held vertically (position called iuuehåre [a1]). By exercising strong pressure of the finger on the edge of the other hand, the index trips and throws the small projectile as far as several meters (asataắkedjuzu [a1], adẵmdige [b1], ndẵmdige [b2]). It is believed that the person reached by a fragment thrown in this way will become like the trunk of the barrigudo tree, narrow at the base and at the top and bloated in the center. He will fall ill, his stomach will begin to inflate, and finally he will die. This method of throwing is also often used for teasing, especially children, and to bombard an adversary with small fruit, with pieces of dirt,

789 or pebbles. The victim receives the attack of which he is the object with indifference, nervousness or anger according to the occasion and the moment, but there is no doubt that even in its profane use as a game, the magic operation has a specific residue, as in the game of "showing one's teeth" ("montrer les cornes") among our children. However the "magical projection" constitutes a modality of action very different from administering a poison of known effectiveness through the blood or the mouth, and the Indians are completely aware of this. They would never mix some tube poison in food of a companion as a joke, knowing very well what the result would be; whereas they have no qualms about entering upon demonstrations of magical projection in the midst of a large assembly, and these demonstrations sometimes end in play with everyone taking part. [97] Here the physiological result is not considered as implied by the very nature of the substance or by the specific effectiveness of the gesture. It is awaited as the result of a whole which is at the same time physical, psychological and motor. It requires evil intention simultaneously with the union of a number of essential or accessory circumstances, all of ritual character, however. Nevertheless the resin, the tube and the operation itself are also called nãnde.

Finally, an anecdote will bring to light a third aspect of the same notion. We had brought along some of those big balloons of multicolored silk paper which are filled with warm air while holding a small torch at their base, and which are let go by the hundreds in Brazil on the occasion of the fête of Saint-Jean. And one night we had the unlucky idea to offer a spectacle to the Indians. A first balloon which caught fire on the ground gave rise to a lively hilarity as if the public had had the slightest notion of what should have happened. In contrast, the second succeeded too well. It rose rapidly, mounted so high that its flame was confounded with the stars, wandered above us for a long time and finally disappeared. But the gaiety of the beginning had given way to completely different sentiments in the crowd. The men regarded us with attention and hostility, and the women, heads hidden in their arms and clinging together, were completely terrified. The word nãndé was repeated constantly. The next morning, a delegation of men came to confer with us, demanding to inspect the whole supply of balloons in order to see "if some nãnde couldn't be found." This examination was done very thoroughly, and then, thanks to the remarkably positive spirit of the Nambikwara (despite what has just been said), a demonstration of the rising power

789 of warm air, aided by small fragments of paper put over a fire, was at least accepted, is not understood. And as usual when it is a question of excusing an incident (which could have had very unhappy [562] consequences), they put all the blame on the women, "who do not understand anything," "were afraid" and feared a thousand calamities. (1)

> 1. Later, *A1* asked for some balloons to give a demonstration himself before the combined groups assembled by him. But, less forgetful than he, we obstinately refused.

Two conclusions are gleaned from these facts. The first is [192] that the term of *nánde* covers much more than the strict meaning of the word "poison," and that it includes all types of actions of exceptional and likewise menacing character, as well as the products or objects likely to determine this action. All *nánde* objects and operations have a common character, expressed by the term *kakore*. This means the dangerous products or substances, and, at the same time, those of a menacing or dangerous nature which certain living beings may possess by specific or only temporary right. Thus poison, the snake, the poisonous spider, the jaguar, are *kakore*; but the same is true of an enemy tribe, or an Indian (even if he is a [98] relative or friend) when he projects revenge or is found in a state of violent anger. The second conclusion is that the poisons, whatever may be the positive and utilitarian character of their preparation, are not thought of scientifically as substances provoking physiological disorders, but as vehicles or receptacles of that mysterious force which turns the usual order of phenomena upside down. Nevertheless, *nánde* is not conceived of in the abstract form of a power. It resides in, and cannot be separated from, certain apparently recognizable material aspects. When the Indians examined our balloons of silk paper, they sought something there which would be the concrete sign of their magical and malevolent nature; and while they proceeded with their inspection, we wondered anxiously what could be the specific characteristics (happily absent) of the product or the *nánde* object. If it is true that the sense of the term *nánde* is more complex than that of the word poison, it is no less necessary to recognize that poison carries the better example and the more perfect illustration of the Indian conception. It is a clearly identified substance, and recognizable by its outward characteristics to which its evil effects necessarily correspond.

789 Poison is thus *nánde* par excellence, although the latter can exist in other forms, at the same time less precise and more complex. We attach extreme importance to the fact that a rigorously utilitarian technique of the manufacture of poisons is found associated with a theory which accounts for their effectiveness through the intermediary of metaphysical concepts. The presence among the Nambikwara of a *curare* reduced to a basic product, and whose preparation excludes all ritual, associated with the very low cultural level of these Indians, poses in a particularly impressive way the question of finding out if these characteristics which are very primitive are so by origin or constitute the residue of an impoverished culture. Now, it is much [121 more reasonable to interpret the apparent contradiction of theory 174] and practice in matters of poison by the loss of complex rituals which farther north are attached to the making of *curare*, than it would be to explain how a theory of supernatural character could have been built on the bases of treatment which has remained purely experimental, of the root of the *strychnos*.

Besides the notion of *nánde* we should examine another which is the object of a particularly advanced elaboration among the eastern groups, that of the *atásu* (*a1*). *Atásu* signifies animal, but the use of the term by the Indians is complex. First of all it is the animal taken in a generic sense, in opposition to the inanimate. They present me with a honey cake and, pointing out the body of a bee which is still in it, I ask what it is. They do not answer, "it is a bee" but: *atásu*, "it is the animal." *Atásu* also means real animals, but ones without their own names in the vocabulary, and which are of particularly fearful character. Thus oxen are called by this name by the Nambikwara who never saw any [99] before the years 1910-1915, and who entertain a great fear of them. Then we find the same term to designate the stars (eastern groups), and the same name is given to the ticktock of the clock, both conceived of as realities animated by mysterious characteristics. Finally, *atásu* is a special animal of supernatural essence, which is seen appearing in two cases—at night, on the road, in certain places and during certain periods, and upon the approach of death. In the first case, one risks being attacked and killed by the *atásu* if one does not defend oneself 789 in the appropriate manner. This means is found in the throwing stick 411 [*épieu*] (distinct from the digging stick), thrown in a prescribed manner. The throwing stick, a large piece of wood of flattened form [286 and pointed at the end is furnished with a handle usually decorated 531] with black and white bark weaving (javelin: *hĩdosu* [a1], *keŝuŝere*

789 411 [*b1*], *makalé* [*c1*). This instrument is used in three circumstances: in war; to conjure up (or to attract?) rain by manipulating it according to an approved ritual as if one were tracing signs in the air while brandishing it; finally to kill the *atásu*, by throwing it in the direction of the apparition, using as intermediary a tooth of the jaguar; the throwing stick is placed obliquely in the left hand, the point turned in the direction of the *atásu*, and the tooth, manipulated by the right hand, acts as a hook for projection. The *atásu* appears only at night. It may borrow the form of the jaguar or of other animals who are then filled with murderous intentions. When the *atásu* is caught in his terrestrial form at the point of the javelin, a great flow of blood is produced. The "supernatural" animal is never eaten. They abandon its body to the carrion.

789 761 In the second case, one is faced with a real theory of death. The sick person who sees the *atásu* appear knows that he is condemned, and the animal actually carries him off on the spot or returns to get him a little later. The current version of the death of *A21*, drowned in a river in July 1938, was that the *atásu* carried him to the bottom of the waters. The *atásu* would live in the water. An informant described it as having "a large mouth and lots of collars."

789 771 761 The southern, central and northern groups bear witness to a more elaborate religious thought. Among these peoples, the preceding notions are crowned by a third, which does not appear as clearly in the eastern groups although it is probably present, that of the wind and thunder, hypostasized in the forms of a semi-personal power named *amõ*. (1) In these groups, this is substituted for the *atásu* in the theory of death, and it is possible to communicate with it through revelations and visions.

1. The *Tupi* origin of this term is evident. One can compare *Montoya*, "ama": cloud of waters; *Nogueira*, "ama": cloud; Coudreau (Bibliothèque *Linguistique Americaine*, XV, 1892), "amane (Oyampi)": rain; *Goncalves Diaz*, "amana": (chuva) rain; *Kissenberth* (*Baessler Archiv*, VI, 1-2, 1916-1917), "amana, aman, ama"(Tapirapé): rain; Nimuendaju (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XLVI, 1914), "ama" (Lingua Géral): (chuva) rain.

THEORY OF DEATH

761 [100] Death distinguishes between men on one hand, women
775 and children on the other. When they die, the former are transformed into jaguars who represent, consequently, so many reincarnated humans. The women and children, on the other hand, disappear with the wind and the storm and are not susceptible to any reappearance.

40. denṍ dúrige u̯etnatúrina édnadu̯re luku̯índige ndaku̯índige monánki̯aduku̯índige denṍ dúrige monáu̯re líttige amonotlíttige tou̯odúrige u̯iténdige (b1)
The woman and child who die do not change into beasts. The man who dies is changed into a jaguar, the woman who dies goes away with the tempest disappears with the storm.

262 Whence, among the Nambikwara, the only perfectly clear prohibition concerning food. Theoretically several exist, broken each time that the occasion is presented, such as those concerning the hawk, the worms from the bacaiuva nuts, and there may be added a probable repugnance concerning the meat of the veado (Cervus sp.). Chickens and dogs are never eaten, but their introduction is recent.
224 On the other hand, the jaguar can be hunted and killed, and its re-
281 mains are highly regarded since the hide is used to make the fur
714 bonnets worn in the attire of war; but it is not eaten under any pretext:

41. [following preceding text] lou̯ku̯índige inkora uírige lótotáu̯rige iku̯itã́dige u̯írige (b1)
775 [the dead man] becomes a jaguar, another eats him, the jaguar carries him off, he is left to another in order to eat him.

This theory complements the information collected in the eastern group more than it differs from it. The jaguar in fact plays the same role as the atásu, it also carries off the dying. But the central theory adds a complement. This is that the deceased is identified with the animal, who thus becomes a supernatural being. It was not possible to find out if the atásu which one meets at night are considered to be the souls of reincarnated dead people. (1)

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171 1. One recognizes in the man-eating jaguar gifted with a supernatural nature a typically Tupi theme, although its present diffusion is much greater. See concerning this subject, Métraux, loc. cit., passim,

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and Nimuendaju, "Die Sagen von der Erschaffung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocuva Guarani," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin, XLVI, 1914. Also, the atásu in question in the preceding paragraph, curiously evoke the yurupari, or ananga, ancient Tupi genies of the bush against which they defend themselves with a flaming torch which thus plays the same role as the magic javelin (cf. Thevet, cited by Métraux, loc. cit., p. 61). Finally, the atásu itself often appears in the form of the jaguar; and in the eastern groups at least, it plays the role of the Messenger of Death which the central, southern, and northern groups give over to the jaguar. There is thus in the vocabulary, a close connection between the stars, the jaguar and the atásu, already noted by Claude d'Abbeville (cited by Métraux, 1. c., p. 49) among the Tupinamba: these identified the jaguar with the stars. Like the "celestial" jaguar (Montoya), the "man-eating" (Nimuendaju), the jaguar of the Nambikwara presents a remarkable ambivalence: it is sacred, and at the same time, they kill it. Finally, comparative linguistics confirms the connection. The term which means jaguar in dialect a1, inaãru is associated with the name of the jaguar among the central and southern Tupi: yaouare (Emerillon, Coudreau); saorúhu (Guajajara, Nimuendaju); jaoarohu (Tapirapé, Kissenberth).

[101] COMMUNICATION WITH A SUPERNATURAL WORLD: SHAMANISM.

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It is considered possible to receive visions of far-distant things and revelations of future happenings. These supernatural communications are usually produced upon the occasion of tempests and storms. They are sudden and unforeseen. Every adult male is apt to [262] receive them, for in this case too, the women (except, it seems, the oldest) are excluded from the spiritual life:

42. iaŝ̭idádni dénõ tamúmatatj̭ani nahoe ej̭áni ekṷáj̭eni kanahádaṷ ṷatli aj̭kṷaaṷatli`kentete (b1)
Invisible to women the men see it [the thunder]: "Far away I see, close by I see, tomorrow it will arrive, very near it will arrive."
(It is a question here of a warning vision of messengers come from another tribe).

787 These visions are attributed to the thunder which sends them to men under its semi-personal form amṍ.

771 Thus the Nambikwara conceive of three types of supernatural
756 forces: first the power which is abstract, but placed in objects or substances, the nánde; next the spirits acting in the form of supernatural or seminatural animals, atásu or jaguar. Finally the thunder, with which under certain conditions, it is possible to entertain personal relations. Each individual can, in a certain measure, establish contact with these forces, however it is the shamans who have the specialized function of intermediary between the human group and the supernatural world. The information which we shall give on this point will be very summary, for it was impossible to obtain from our informants a coherent treatment of the question of shamanism. None of the groups encountered had a shaman with the exception of a single one (group c) where the powers of the chief and the sorcerer were found [102] concentrated in a single individual (C20). Our best informant, B1, chief of the allied group, was categorical concerning the fact that C20 combined the two qualities of ŋelikabala (chief, c) and of ndâre (thunder, c) although he was only ŋilikã́de, temporal chief. The sorcerer would then be simultaneously the man who identifies himself with thunder, and who communicates with it in the personal form called amṍ. Likewise, in the eastern groups (a1 restricted and enlarged, and a2), it was not possible to uncover the presence of a sorcerer or of an individual with such powers. This fact could be interpreted in three different ways: that the sorcerers were held apart; or that they dissimulated their nature; that the institution of the sorcerer is, in fact, absent in certain groups; or that, in these same groups, the functions of the sorcerer are exercised by the chief, and that, in inverse fashion to what is produced in group c, it is the spiritual functions which are in second place with regard to the temporal. It is this hypothesis which we consider the most reasonable. In group a1; A1 makes the arrow poison and treats sick persons by suction, functions which in group c come within the province of C20 considered as shaman, rather than chief of the group.

756 Whatever the fact may be, and as we have just said, it is the sorcerer who makes the poisons, and it is he who proceeds to the magical treatment of the sick, clearly different from the positive
278 therapeutics likewise practiced. The Nambikwara are familiar with
757 quite a large number of medicinal plants and treat certain illnesses with their help. Thus they care for purulent ophthalmia by an

778 757 injection of pao preto (ikátu nẫŝerám, a1), put in the eye with the aid of a funnel of leaves from whose lower extremity the liquid falls drop by drop. But other maladies, considered the result of 755 756 poisoning (or of a charm; in both cases: nánde) are exclusively within the domain of the sorcerer. He makes the "arrows of thunder" (ndaórede, b1) in all points similar to those used for hunting except that their dimensions are much more restricted. The treatment consists of three operations: throwing the arrows around the sick person to carry away the spirits; sucking the body to force out the cause of the illness; this cause is thrown far away when it has been captured:

43. ã̃dige underã̃dige kadirjénka úngeraige tenúndige (b1)
throw, throw far away the little thorns sucked with
the mouth, throw away [the evil]. (1)

1. The informant made it known that by "little thorns" he meant to designate the "arrows of thunder" which are only several centimeters in length. One notes the same assimilation in other regions of South America. [7] Thus, the informant of Karsten in the Chaco (R. Karsten, "Indian tribes of the Argentine and Bolivian Chaco," Societas Scientiarum Fennicae, Commentationes Humanorum Litterarum, IV, 1, p. 132-133) cites as the cause of the malady and the way of combatting it, an "arrow" or "splinter").

[103] Afterwards the sick person is usually cured and can take up his work again:

44. enéndige deéndige enéna deịdnige (b1)
To be sick is finished [one can] continue.

756 However, the sorcerer can establish much closer relationships with the supernatural powers. During our stay in his group, C20 disappeared, or more exactly did not return to camp at the usual hour. The other men, having gone hunting, had not seen him the whole day. Night fell and toward nine or ten o'clock in the evening, the most profound consternation reigned in the camp and particularly around the fire of the man who had disappeared, whose two wives and child held themselves embraced while mourning in advance the death of their husband and father. At this moment we decided to look around, accompanied by a few Indians. We had only to walk 200 meters to discover C20, crouched on the ground and shivering in the darkness. He was completely naked, that is, divested of his

He was completely naked, that is, divested of his
756 necklaces, bracelets, earrings, and belt, and by the light of our
[301] electric lamps we could make out his tragic expression and his pale complexion. He let himself be helped to the camp without difficulty, where he sat down without a word and in a completely impressive attitude of dejection. Little by little, his story was drawn from him by an anxious listener. He explained that he had been carried off by the thunder (amẽ), [a storm had broken the same day]; the thunder had carried him in the air to a point which he designated at a distance of 25 kilometers from the camp (Ananáz River), had divested him of all his ornaments, then brought him back the same way and left him in the place where we had discovered him exhausted. Everyone went to sleep commenting on the incident and the next morning, C20 had recovered not only his habitual good humor, but also all his ornaments, which amazed no one and for which he offered no explanation. But the following days a very different version of the event began to be peddled by the Tarundé. They said that, far from having entered into relationship with the other world, C20, under the cover of a magical disappearance, had gone to undertake
[578] some transactions with a band of Sabané Indians who were camping in the vicinity. These insinuations were never developed further, and the official version of the affair continued to be ostensibly admitted. However, in our personal relationships, B1 let his preoccupations be seen upon several occasions. As the two groups left us shortly after, we never found out the outcome of the story.

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278 No information has been uncovered concerning the manner of naming the shaman as such. In the preparation of the arrow poison, C20 was assisted by his potential son-in-law C25.

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796 [104] Besides his supernatural attributes, the chief, or shaman, plays another role, that of "leader" in ceremonies and celebrations. The Nambikwara have three types of ceremonies. Those which mark the critical moments of each one's existence, such as birth, initiation, puberty, marriage, death; the seasonal festivals; and finally, the ceremonies celebrated on exceptional occasions: war and hunting or scavenging expeditions. We have already alluded to the rites of war, and we shall speak farther on of the ceremonies of the first type. We shall limit ourselves here then to some brief observations concerning the others.

796 The seasonal celebrations take place at the beginning and end of the rainy season, and probably mark the opening and closing of agricultural labor. They consist of festivals with dancing, singing and music. Several days in advance, hunting expeditions go in [224] search of small game, and they also go in for large fishing expeditions. In fact, fish seems to play a role of the first rank in the ritualistic activities. (1) Other Indians leave, sometimes for far-off places in
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1. See below, p. 109.

[224] order to find thick bamboo in the forests which border the rivers or which occupy the valleys, from which they cut pieces to make the flageolets for the ritual. These are about 70 centimeters long and pierced by four holes besides the one for blowing. An air passage is effected at the upper end in the mouthpiece of wax which closes the opening. They are only used upon occasion of these ceremonies and are played in unison in groups of three, one of them, engraved with a white longitudinal line, being named jomɔte yilikãde, (chief flageolet), and played by the chief. A resonator made from a bamboo trunk furnished at the lower end with a hollowed-out gourd usually accompanies them (dutɔnde, b1). The flageolets are called "male" and the resonators "female." Quite curiously, these flageolets are called jomɔte (b1/2) and jamakɑ (c), by the central, northern and southern groups, that is from the same term (jamakɑ) by which the Paressi name the same instrument, while the eastern groups, who are the only immediate neighbors of the Paressi, employ a completely different term: kajgetãsu (a 1/2). The Indians describe these festivals thus:

796 45. ukuerige aɔdnige iparhajdne ungərage (haidəne) aɲurgerage
to hide to blow to play [the flageolet] to make merry fishing.

nahundage tɑtige niyattahɑrige kɑde kɑde kɑde kɑ ajtɑ̃ndige
to carry to roast to make chicha moon moon moon this moon to dance

jukuohɑndige mihɑdage komiɛgerage
and another time to play [the following month] more rain everything is dry

[108] mɑ̃ãdage tutəhajhajkuirige
the rain is finished let [the flutes?] be carried away

hɑjutendige halehɑɔdnige denõ̰ horɑtige ejetɛnde
to make the field feast the women are hidden they do not see it

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alãgena hãitige (b1)
to sing in the place.

534 A very strict taboo rests on the flageolets. Only the adult
784 men can play them:

46. uĩtnore uĩtnja imãgãre.
Children do not know how to play the flageolet.

And the sight of the instruments is rigorously forbidden the women:

uenaĩtje jatjaeninĩnena ednajo jãneni (b1)
the women cannot see them, only the men see.

These flageolets are made in great secrecy, in the same place where they find suitable bamboo. If the musical expedition returns by day, they hide the flageolets in the branches of a tree not far from the camp or from the village. They only bring them out at night, at the moment of the concert, and the women must then retire to the huts or under the shelters, and hide their heads in [68] their arms. If one of them violates the taboo, they claim she would be pursued by all the men and killed by blows of a stick. We did not have the chance to attend one of these festivals, but, as we desired to collect the musical repertory of the flageolets, we were able, with a certain amount of difficulty, to arrange it so that a mission was sent to find bamboo and make instruments for us (it was necessary to go about 15 kilometers). Having left in the morning, the group returned in the middle of the night, and until daylight we made music some distance from the camp in order to avoid all feminine indis- [534] cretion. As each instrument sounds a little different from the others, the playing produces an illusion of harmony which is added to the charm of the melody, in itself very real.

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781 It is possible that all the musical instruments of the Nambikwara are connected to activities of an economic-social character. Some testimonials, a decisive confirmation of which I was not able to obtain, present the nasal flutes (araĩtasu, a2) as meant to assure a rich harvest of the fruit piquy. The season of piquy, which grows in [222] abundance in the plains, is actually an impatiently awaited period for the Indians. The fruit is admiringly weighed and said to have "lots of fat." Likewise the flutes of Pan (asinzu, a1; juauzere, b1) would be employed in the rites preceding hunting expeditions. In [142] the case of nasal flutes, a double analogy has been pointed out by certain informants between their form and that [106] of the pit of the piquy, and between their name and the name of the piquy (ahãru, a 1/2). The latter analogy exists only in the eastern dialect

534 (arấtasu-ahấru), and the connection remains suspect, the Nambikwara
789 not disdaining puns. (1) The same thing goes for the flutes of Pan,
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[522] 1. For example, A1 mocks me when I am in the process of smoking: Kúkedetu úkedetu: a smoker is lazy.

sometimes called du²úru (a1/2) du²únde (b1) which would also be the name of the animal agouti (Dasyproctas aguti). It is no less true that
[533] several of the songs collected have been pointed out as songs of the hunt or of the harvest. A soldier of the Rondon Commission, prisoner of the Nambikwara for quite a long time, described to Roquette Pinto (2) a ceremony composed of dances and songs which had

2. Loc. cit., p. 234-235.

followed a tapir hunt. And a musical theme was pointed out to us spontaneously as the song of the tapir hunt.

FROM BIRTH TO DEATH

844 The Nambikwara woman gives birth (to be born: talĩitige, b1) in a crouching position and getting support on the ground by means of a vertical pole which she holds with both hands. During this time a companion pours cold water over the chest and stomach with a small gourd. The umbilical cord is cut close and cauterized with a live coal, then covered with a salve of warm ashes.

47. dótu sajkédutu ȃkedấtelusu alótu ujĩ'ũkedjutu inkétu
jakesấjutu ire ire iagẽkediutu (a1)
[When] the woman gives birth the placenta is buried in
the bush; she is ill, she does not eat [for] a moon,
a moon [and then] she eats again.

846 After the ceremony of burying the placenta, consequently, the woman would remain for two months under a taboo and condemned to relative abstinence. In reality, an exceptional situation is prolonged much longer, the period of abstinence observed by the husband and wife until the child is weaned, or at least until he ceases to be exclusively nourished by the mother's milk.

To describe the state of abstinence (inkấtu, "one is ill" [a1]: there is no special term), we can do no more than to transcribe our observations made from day to day relative to the family of fire 6 composed of A21, a22, and a23. a22 is clearly distinguished from her companions:

846 1. She wears no decoration or ornament;

794 [107]2. She does not touch food, neither to harvest it, to gather it, to prepare it nor to cook it;

3. She speaks to no one and no one says a word to her;

4. She avoids groups and when curiosity draws her toward our circle, she attends the distribution and exchange of gifts from a distance and in silence. If someone gives her or her husband a present (for example some beads), it is immediately given to the baby;

5. Every day she receives her food from her mother (a18), who gives it to her without speaking, and occupies herself with certain cares of the baby such as delousing it;

6. She does not bathe in the river, but washes herself with the water which she herself goes to draw in a gourd;

7. She goes away with her husband, sometimes for whole days, and, upon departure, follows him at a distance without saying a word; on these occasions, she takes the baby along;

A21 behaves similarly:

1. He does not go with the masculine group when they go hunting or gardening;

2. He rarely goes away, and then with his wife. The rest of the time he spends stretched out without taking part in any creative activity; they say he is ill (*inkaftu*);

3. In the degree to which he and his wife perform the most [842] indispensable activities, there is no division of labor between them. Either one buries the baby's excrement, or places in the coals the manioc received by a22 and a18 which constitutes their sole nourishment. Both are extremely thin, and appear very weak; their hair has not been cut or washed for a long time.

Toward June 20, 1938, this behavior was modified. For three consecutive days A21 and a22 disappeared for the whole day, doubtless to hunt, for, after several fruitless trips, they return (June 23 at 15 o'clock) with the following small game:

a. An *irara* (*Mustela* sp.);

b. Three bats;

c. Two lizards and their eggs.

846 The *irara* and the bats have already been put over the flame 252 to burn off the hair. a22 begins immediately—and for the first time—to clean and crush a small quantity of manioc and she quickly puts a cake under the coals. At the same time she puts the broken lizard eggs there, and [108] takes them out barely cooked; she divides

846 them between herself and the baby. For the first time, she ex-
252 changes some words with her neighbors while laughing.

846 In the meantime, A21 has cleaned the irara. He gives the
252 stomach, the large intestine, the small intestine to a2 (wife's sister);
224 she, aided by her daughter a5, cleans the intestines, puts them on to
cook and begins to eat them with a5 and a3.

A21 cuts the tail of the irara, cooks it rapidly, and eats it with his wife and baby.

The three bats have been given to a2 (wife's sister) and a14 (sister), who divides her lot with her son A16 and her son-in-law A15. a22 cooks the lizards and the organs (liver, heart, lungs, spleen, kidneys of the irara). She gives the whole thing to her husband, who gives a piece of liver to the baby and divides the rest with his wife.

All of these operations are carried out very rapidly in a sort of hurry, and are finished at the end of a half-hour. At 30 minutes past 15 o'clock, a22 lights a different fire from the one that each household uses, and places the irara there. She then goes to take her first bath in the river, and brings back some water in a gourd to wash the baby. Toward 16:15 the cooked irara is taken from the fire by A21. At this moment everyone has returned to camp and has taken his habitual place. A21 and a22, seated near the new fire, occupy a central position. A21 cuts the irara into five pieces and divides it among the members of the family, as was said previously. (1)

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1. Cf. above, p. 74 f.

From that time on, A21 and a22 take up normal activity and are no longer distinguished from their companions.

846 Thus the period of abstinence is characterized by relative
isolation of the couple in question, which is at the same time under
a certain number of taboos (social contacts, baths, preparation of
food, dress, eating of certain foods). It ends at the moment when
the child takes its first meal not consisting solely of milk (in this
[224 case the lizard eggs and the irara liver. This meal is part of a hunting
162] feast offered to the group by the parents who up to now were under
the taboo. However, the atmosphere in which these operations are
carried out merits attention. No solemnity surrounds them, and the
parties concerned perform them with the same routine and nonchalance
which characterizes daily activities. It is not a question then of a
ceremony with the psychological implications which this term carries,
but of a collection of acts which must be done, and are done, with a
minimum of attention accorded to their exceptional character.

854 From this time on, the life of the Nambikwara infant goes on
as we have described, and without there being much differentiation
according to sex. These differences begin to appear only at the ap-
881 proach of puberty. At this time, the girls adopt a completely new
behavior. They allow themselves great liberties, speaking brutally
to their entourage and [109] amusing themselves with obscene acts.
The fact is that the ceremony of puberty, which coincides with mar-
[553] riage, marks a decided change in her life and it is also upon that
occasion that she receives her name. The Nambikwara women marry
582 very soon after their first menstruation. The polygamy of the chiefs
[595] creates a permanent deficit of women, and the newly available wife
is impatiently awaited. According to our informants, it is the young
584 girl who indicates to her parents which of her potential husbands she
wishes to marry. She says that she "wishes to marry quickly"
(ikĩndurige, bl); the term of dialect al for "to marry" being
oyensaikititu, literally: "to make a husband," it seems that, as has
been affirmed, the initiative belongs to the girl:

48. inka (ni) durednjẽu durẽnje (bl)
"I wish to marry quickly" [says the girl]. "Marry,"
says the mother] (?)

Actually, it seems that the marriage is decided from infancy by an agreement between the parents. Farseeing parents must prepare far in advance the marriage of their son, for otherwise the latter risks not finding an available woman. Brothers-in-law have often indicated to us that their children were promised to one another.

881 At the time of puberty, the young girl is completely isolated for a period of from two to four months. She lives in a specially constructed shelter some distance from the village, and lives there alone, observing a series of alimentary and social taboos. During this period, her mother feeds her and takes care of her. The period of segration ended, songs and dances take place. Her shelter is torn down and "the mother takes back her child." Then the ceremony proper of marriage takes place. It is prepared by hunting and fishing expeditions and is carried out amidst chants and dances:

49. aĩrige aĩingnerage denano inĵira aĩkira aĩknira tãata
halonoo tatlĩkta aĩndage hotimbata uĩrige imãgara
imãgara (bl)
Go get fish, the women arrive, arrive, to broil [the
fish] in the square go out, sing, whistle, play the
flute, play the flute.

585 The union of the husband and wife is pronounced by the chief who places in the mouth of each a large piece of fish. (1)

831 1. It has already been suggested (Kunike, "Der Fisch als Fruchtbarkeitssymbol bei den Waldindianern Südamerikas, Anthropos, VII 1912, p. 206-229) that the fish could be a sexual symbol among the South American Indians. Tastevin has vigorously criticized this hypothesis (Le poisson symbole de Fécondité ou de Fertilité chez les Indiens de l'Amérique du Sud, id., IX, 1914, p. 405-417). However, the Nambikwara ritual of marriage seems to confirm the first theory. Moreover, fish is directly treated as the symbol of sexual relations in the legend where Maire-Pochy makes a girl pregnant by [110] making her eat the fish which he himself had fished. As the origin of this Tupi story is certainly Andean (Kunike, loc. cit.; Métraux, p. 12-13; Ehrenreich, Ueber die Verbreitung und Wanderung der Mythen bei den Naturvölkern Südamerikas, Congrès international des Américanistes, Stuttgart, 1904, p. 663) we have there a supplementary piece of information concerning the affinity of the Nambikwara with the cultures of the North and West.

881 [110] There is no puberty ceremony for the boys. This is replaced by a ritual of initiation which takes place toward the ninth or tenth year, apparently. It is composed of two essential operations, [553 the giving of a name, and the piercing of the lip and of the nasal 304] septum to place some wood ornaments there. The first operation is done directly by the chief, the second by a companion whom he designates to this effect:

50. yetnoãdige iochãdige ulikade uelikãdell'kinere nukezjore judotige jurojenje nikama jurojotige (b1)
When the boy is grown the chief, the chief gives him a name. A companion pierces his lip to put in the ornament. He [the chief] orders the hole [for the ornament] to be made.

• • • • •

[581] Dutemõdednige (bl), say the Nambikwara men; "it is a good
582 thing to marry." But it is not easy. The ideal marriage is the one which gives a "young and pretty woman" (monodyinuhere, bl) whose virginity one will have (to break the hymen: tayortige, bl). But such women are precisely the ones who are claimed by the chiefs or shamans, and only a few young men will have a chance to obtain such wives. The others are condemned to a long period of celibacy
[836] which they will break by having sexual relations with their brothers-in-law, or else they will marry an "old woman" who cannot have sexual relations (tiroanebirîere, bl), one who is widowed or repudiated, whom no one wants. Such marriages are not rare among the Nambikwara, and are explained by the fundamental economic role of the couple which we have already commented on. But they are not permanent. When the young man feels his position in the group
582 strengthened, or when a better occasion is presented he abandons
586 (amnjotige, bl) his old wife to take another (ulamtunjotige, bl) who
587 is younger and more seductive. It happens that a man thus marries three or four wives successively before considering himself satisfied.(1)

[71]

1. Here also, the documents of the 16th century relating to the Tupi support the comparison: ".... at times they take some old woman from whom they do not expect children, because there are no others, only so that they will cook the food, since they have no mother or sisters-in-law to take care of them, thus they are cared for, and are contented at present time with some old woman by whom they are always well treated and then taking other women by whom they have children later, either leaving the first wife or keeping her, if she wishes, for the reason mentioned above." (Anchieta, loc.cit., p. 260-261).

The repudiated woman [111] goes to live with her parents if they are still living, joins up with another man if she has the opportunity or even remains her former husband's fire, whose existence she shares and whose tasks she participates in, but in a slightly inferior position. Such is the position of b3 in the household of her ex-husband B1. Another method of obtaining the young woman desired consists of
836 seducing her, even if she is married. Adultery and more generally sentimental intrigues are very frequent among the Nambikwara.

836 who seem to be susceptible to violent passions. We knew an Indian who fled with a Paressi Indian girl during our stay, and lived with her for several months hidden in the bush and fleeing the husband who was in hot pursuit after them. Here is the way an informant (B15) tells of a former adventure. He reconstructs a dialogue with the beloved woman:

51. ajndarinjẽ —otendnjẽ—ajdotẽha ajdakanjajni putnadajẽ ajrhajtasjrndige tamintednjẽ (bl)
Do you want to make love?--I do not wish to.--You are worth nothing! I want to make love or I will kill you! Let us go make love.

Very anxiously the woman responds:
higekanhiẽ yairirẽ yairidednjẽ etjẽdahẽ dung,rajeni (bl)
Do it quickly, my husband will be angry, he will beat me.

684 626 There is no social sanction against adultery; but the wronged husband can avenge himself in a fearful manner and in circumstances of this type poison, used either against the wife or against the lover, plays its role. In order to avoid such incidents, the companions intervene between the adversaries and counsel the seducer to disappear for a while:

52. ijehetnjẽ ajkyakatednjẽni ekyide ekyide ekyide ekyide ekyide ekyide ekyide ekyide kajẽdodni ujknerenjani (bl)
Go away.--I am going far away.--When this moon is ended and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, and that one, then, in that one, you may return.

We knew an Indian (C11) whose wife disappeared one day, having left with a member of his group. He thought first of revenge, but his companions intervened, and it was finally decided that the lover should keep the wife and would give him a dog as compensation. Several months later, the lover died (we were not able to find out whether the death was normal or accidental), and the woman returned to her husband, who said he was very happy to have acquired the dog [illegible] also. This story should not be interpreted in the sense of an equivalence, conceived by the Indian spirit, between a woman and a dog. We have insisted too much on the fundamental role of the woman in Nambikwara [112] life to have to return to that here. But in groups where trade [112] exists in such a primitive form (1) exchanges of goods have as a

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1. Cf. p. 93 f.

684 626 [152] conscious function the bringing of psychological compensations incommensurable among themselves, rather than for establishing equivalences of value.

764 184 The Nambikwara have two types of burial. The eastern groups practice double interment. The bodies are first placed in a crouching position (ãriɲaerekititu, al) in a circular ditch (sinitakurisu, al) seven feet deep heaped up with earth and branches. For two months, they sing, dance and weep around this provisional tomb, until the body is decomposed. Then the bones are carried to the river where they are carefully washed. Then they are carried in [768] a cloth to be permanently buried in the village. The village is then abandoned, but the site is often visited:

53. ayregande âjunikere kadukarage jaudrige énde énde énde inare inaretajre sinoribate (bl)
to dig the grave, to close it, to wait one moon, one moon, one moon, to take out the bones, to bury them in the village.

In the central groups, on the other hand, the bodies would be buried (aoʔenĩkere, bl) in a prone position (idtarige, bl).

The funeral rites distinguish between movable goods and immovable goods. The first are carefully destroyed; they break and burn the weapons; they unravel the beads and necklaces.

[765] The garden of the dead man, if he cultivated one, is, however, only abandoned, and can be reclaimed later:

54. doʃore dutige ackede aytadutige aydotahãndige aydotaãmde odenehejre oduhĩnde njadumnje narajnidande narʔdutige aĩredugejottige dẽn dẽn dẽn nagjaode aje dugjotige tjatugjotige (bl)
The arrows are broken, everything must be broken the beads are unstrung, the beads of the deceased, the fields of the deceased are abandoned one moon, one moon, one moon, and when all is forgotten, another takes the field.

423 Yet it is necessary to avoid confusion on this point. Strictly speaking, there is no land property among the Nambikwara. The chief invites his men to group together to cultivate the gardens, but sometimes such and such an individual decides to clear a field on his own account. These personal appropriations do not give rise to any incidents since the cultivatable land is usually far larger than the collective needs. However, a garden represents a value, because of the considerable amount of work spent in clearing it, especially for people who have never seen metal tools until 30 years ago. Also the rule of destruction of the goods of the deceased respects the

423 garden, with the stipulation, of [113] a psychological and moral
order, that one wait to take possession until "the memory of the dead
[428 has been lost." However, this semijudicial means of acquiring
425] land does not imply the existence of an inheritance right. The rela-
tives are not favored, and anybody can avail oneself of the same
title.

GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY AND DAILY LIFE

The Categories

128 The linguistic study of the Nambikwara should be the object of special publications, (1) and we shall thus content ourselves here with several summary pieces of information destined to bring into sharper focus what can be inferred concerning the broad logical categories of thought, and to assign a place to the Nambikwara group within the orbit of other American cultures.

193 The most remarkable trait of the Nambikwara language,
197 made particularly evident by the central and southern dialect (b1),
811 is an extended use of the classificatory suffixes. The systematic
character of the classification of things and beings is comparable only
to that found in the Ŝibqa linguistic family. Furthermore, if one
ignores several secondary differences, the division of the world into
categories in Nambikwara presents a remarkable similarity with that
found in the Ŝibqa dialects. (2)

In the division of things and beings into eleven principal logical categories, ten are found to be common to the Nambikwara and to the Ŝibqa. The category "season, weather, sky" seems to be broken up, in Nambikwara, into several suffixes. Inversely, the same suffix-are classes two categories logically related but distinguished by

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1. C. Lévi-Strauss, Sur certaines similarités, etc., loc. cit.; Paul L. Garvin, Esquisse du Systeme, etc., loc. cit.

2. The following examples are borrowed from Walter Lehmann, Zentral-Amerika, 2 vols., Berlin, 1920, I, pp. 277-279, 404, 440, 454, 571.

193 their suffixes in Ŝibṣa: —nak (Bribri), "excretion, secretion, resin"
197 and -dio, -rio (Bribri), "secretion, damp." (3)
811

> 3. There would be, naturally, a large number of detailed observations to present. In the different languages, the logical categories partially overlap; thus, the Nambikwara category -kere corresponds partially to the Bribri -kal, and at the same time to -Xkuo. The suffix -kere expresses resistance largely, and the suffix -kate, which we have connected with it, form.

The phonetic analogies which occasionally appear between the classifying suffixes of the Nambikwara and the Ŝibṣa do not seem to us of great importance. On the other hand, morphological analogy, and above all the division of things and beings into classes which are not imposed on the mind [114] by any internal necessity, do not seem to us to be logically the result of a pure phenomenon of convergence. We see there, on the contrary, sufficient reason to affirm a linguistic affinity between the Ŝibṣa and Nambikwara groups. (1)

> 1. In his book Durch Central-Brasilien, Von den Steinen had already suggested the constitution of a linguistic area extending from Colombia to northern Bolivia by a chart of the northern and western distribution of the word sisi (sun, fire). The term sisi can be approximated in Nambikwara: siisu (a1), siise (b1): round hut, circle.

[112]

Logical Category	Nambikwara	Rama	Bribri	Terraba	Guatuso
Type, family, group	-ẽ̃nde -ẽ̃nde -ẽ̃nde		-ĩ̆ak	ˇ-uah	
Hair, fur, feathers	-uette	-ulis	-kõ̊, -kõ̆ -tsa	-sok -so	-lisa -ko-a
To cut, to pierce, hole	-ĩre	-sik			-kali -ka

continued

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Logical Category	Nambik-wara	Rama	Bribri	Terraba	Guatuso
Hard, stiff, rigid, wood, stretched	-kere -kate	-kat	-kăř	-kŏr -krŏ -grŏ	-kora -kure
Soft, supple, stretched	-g̭ere	-kit	-kitša		-kira
Fruit, grain, rounded object	-kənĩnde	-up	-uo -kuo	-kuo	-ku -kuru
That which hangs, is added, decorates, trembles	-gəre	-kiin (?)	-io	-kro	
Full, swelled, liquid	-are	-ri, -li -ari -ubli	-dĭo -rĭo -ri -li	-rio	-ko-ri
Season, weather, sky	-inde -are -ere		-kā -kō	-shco	
Bark, leather, skin, clothing, what accompanies	-ore	-ŭuk	-Xkŭŏ	-cuota -cuo	-ťĕn
Flesh, substance	-unde	-kās	-tśkař	-sho	

[115] THE NUMBERS

802 The Nambikwara have only three names for numbers, strictly speaking: one, two and many. But they are capable of composing these terms to form higher numbers by addition. We have thus been able to obtain countings up to 5, 6 and 8. To count "one" the Indians hold down with the left hand all the fingers of the right hand except the thumb. To count "two," they hold down the thumb, ringfinger, and little finger, leaving up only the index and the middle finger. To count "three," they hold down all fingers except the ring finger. As a matter of fact, as no special word exists for this figure, "three" is no more than a unit added to two. In the central and southern dialect

802 a special term ba is found, to designate a duo or a pair.

NAMES OF NUMBERS

Numbers	Dialects a 1/2.	Dialect b 1.	Dialect b 2.	Dialect c.
One......	kənáge	nágəna, kanákero	najukənada-r̂ʂaore	améro
Two......	searu	nabaám, baã̃do	baâʂore	baléne
Three.....	nuneseare-kənage	nabágəna	uaîŋʂore	balaámero
Four......	desanu	nabaụõda	uaidnaŋ̂ʂore	
Five......	dasarénere	nmba-nmba-nagena	nikụaíŋʂore	
Six.......	anere		ụaŋ̂dna-aîʂore	
Seven......	toaŋ̂denere			
Eight.......	uakesaụndnere			
Many......	sáklaere	ụáŋnine kụáŋtege	deindarîʂore	álele

[116] In the a 1/2 vocabulary, the terms indicated for "four" to "eight" probably represent less the names of the number than the descriptive terms of the operation which consists of adding a new unit to a whole. In the b2 vocabulary, the original word employed for "three" is apparently connected with the same origin as that of dialect b1 signifying plurality. The terms used for "four," "five" and "six" are probably descriptive of the manipulation.

[52] In conversation, the exclamatory forms are used, for example in discussions among men upon their return from hunting:

55. nã́gənaarenjani baánenjani baánegərenjani bã́de-bã́denjani báabáakənaánjani. (b1)
"I killed one myself--two, myself--three, myself--four, myself--five, myself."

THE COLORS

822 The differentiation of colors has been studied in eleven patterns for which we give the list of Indian terms below.

Groups a and b present common characteristics. They distinguish white, black, red, blue, and put yellow and green in a single category. (1) However, while group a extends that assimilation to yellow ocher, group b stops at clear yellow and classes yellow ocher with burnt sienna in the same category, designated by the term of dialect a1 for "black." (2) Group c distributes the colors in a very different way: one same category unites the reds and the yellows (which furthermore suggests the scale of the tincture of urucu), while the blues are attached to green and black.

The most esteemed colors are white and black, undoubtedly because these are the colors of the ornaments made from pearly fragments of river shells and from the dark nuts of the palm tree. Then comes red, then yellow. Green and blue are not much liked.
[117]

822
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Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
White	ahẽndesu	ahẽndesu	deʔẽnde	pãte
Black	ş̂undne	atuũdisu	u̯ãre, dẽdẽne	tapũte

continued

[193
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1. The term which designates green and yellow affects the singular form of a reduplicative plural. This morphological aspect is found again in Ş̂ibs̨a: Thus in Bribri, green = tspa-tspa, yellow = kŏlo-kŏlo; in Guatuso, yellow = mari-mari; in Rama, yellow = nugnugna, green blue = nrinnrinma. (Cf. Lehmann, loc. cit., I, p. 333, 394, 434, 435).

[826]

2. In accord with the anthropological judgment of the Indians who do not distinguish themselves from the "whites" as "yellow," but as the "colored" from the "clear":

(56) u̯ãĩ ʔanįena tũkednįena (b1)
You are fair (clear), I am dark.

822
192

Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
Vermilion red	ehednékenesu	aheʔéndutu	eʔédne	ṣ̂ereṣ̂eráịnte natope (= urucu)
Carmine red	ehéndutu	aehʔéndutu	eʔédne	ŝeráịnte, natope
Cobalt blue	---	asụisụéndisu	ṣ̂iṣ̂ụĩdna	tapũte, tikụalẽnte
Ultramarine blue	---	asụisụéndutu	ṣ̂iṣ̂ụĩdna	tapũte, tikụalẽnte
Veronese green	ṣ̂idiṣ̂ĩde	asetesedeéndutu	ṣ̂edeṣ̂ededne	pasĩnte
Emerald green	ṣ̂ideṣ̂idedne	asetesedeʔéndutu	ṣ̂edeṣ̂ededne	pasinte, kụalénte
Strontian yellow	ṣ̂ideṣ̂idedne	asetesedeʔéndutu	ṣ̂edeṣ̂ededne	natopeṣ̂eráịnte, kụalénte
Yellow ocher	ṣ̂ideṣ̂idedne	asetesedeʔéndutu	húndne	ṣeráịnte
Burnt sienna	ṣ̂ideṣ̂idedne	asetesedeʔéndutu	húndne	natopeṣ̂eráịnte

KNOWLEDGE RELATIVE TO THE UNIVERSE

821 The Nambikwara of the eastern group call the stars ikitásu, atásu (supernatural animal) or iụinitu atásu; those of the central and southern group call them tãgəre (classifying: -gəre, that which hangs, decorates, trembles) and distinguish between "little stars," (tãgəniụĩkəre, -niụĩkəre being a diminutive) and "planets" (tãgərare; classificatory: -are, full, swelled, liquid). No information could be gathered concerning the constellations. The sun is [118] called otịanĩkisu, uterĩtisu (a 1/2), ŝúnde (b 1/2), ióta (c); the moon ĩru, irékisu (a 1/2), heịnde, heịtənde (b 1/2), hịĩta (c), and they distinguish:

The full moon: arãditatinoa (a1), eịedámniene (b1) ipáịkolota (c):

The moon in its (first or last) quarter: ãgiaịʔĩnoa (a1), eụemirakende (b1), ipáịkolo (c).

805 The year is divided into two periods: the rains (mĩhĩrage, b1), lasting approximately five months, and the dry season (kómirige,

805 bl) lasting seven months. The time is counted in moons and in nights, and the term moon or night is mentioned as many times as is necessary to arrive at the total of months (lunar), or of days, that one desires to mention. This enumeration gives a savory color to the language (cf. quotations 6 and 52): "hétende, hétende . . ." or kanádao, kanádao . . , etc. A source of confusion often comes from the fact that the Indian uses the term Ka (abbreviated from kanadero), "a single one," implying the period of time involved; one finds oneself thus faced with the enumeration "Ká, Ká, Ká ..." etc., without knowing whether it is a question of nights,or of one (moon) one (moon), etc.

They distinguish "today" (yeʔdnekyare, bl) from "tomorrow" (kánadadórekyare, bl), from "yesterday" (kútnore, bl), and from "the day after tomorrow" (kənaʔálaore, bl, = "still another night").

The day is divided into six phases (dialect bl);

The dawn: líttenɛ, "it comes up" (the sun), naãninde, "it mounts";

9 o'clock: nikəlaena, "it brightens";

Noon: nakakátiore, "the bad hour";

15 o'clock: nigedírtige, "it turns";

17 o'clock: kãdeʔírgiena, "it falls";

Twilight: kanalútere, "night comes."

823 The Nambikwara recognize four directions of space, two of which correspond to the axis of the apparent movement of the sun and two to the direction of the rivers, in effect approximately perpendicular to the preceding:

The north: jokənore, "toward bottom";

The south: úkenore, "toward the top";

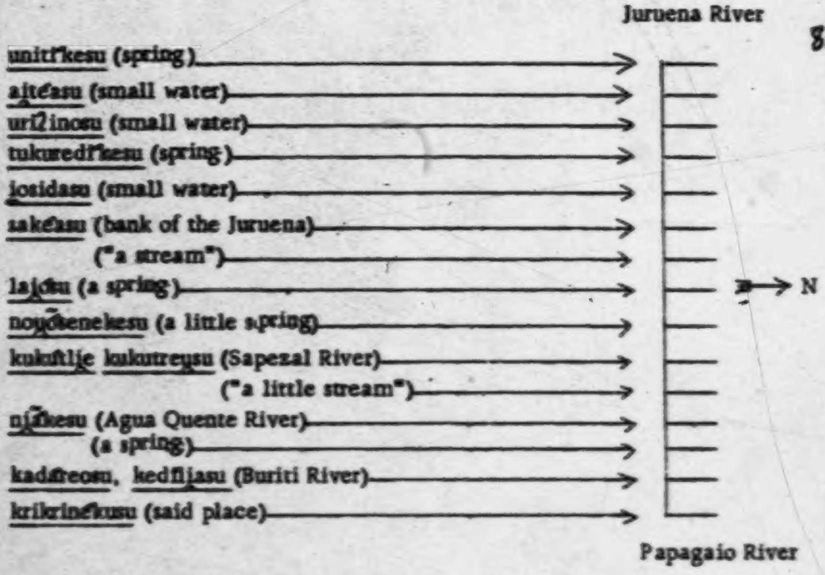
The west: ĵuingátere, "the sun goes down";

The east: ĵunlirítere, "the sun comes up" (bl).

57. ndaorerilikákate nejená nejlikẽ (bl)

There is no other one, it is enough!

Territories are known and marked at distances extending 200 or 300 kilometers. Places, sources and courses of water have names, and the Indians (or at least some) are able to trace on the sand summary maps of travel with information as to the principal landmarks. Here is how A1 marks the stages of the trip of his group from the Papagaio River to the tributary of the right bank of the Juruena River where his village is located:



unitríkesu (spring)

aįtéasu (small water)

uriʔinosu (small water)

tukuredíkesu (spring)

ḙosidasu (small water)

sakéasu (bank of the Juruena)
("a stream")

laḙdsu (a spring)

noyõsenekesu (a little spring)

kukutlḙe kukutreyṣu (Sapezal River)
("a little stream")

nįãkesu (Agua Quente River)
(a spring)

kadãreosu, kedfiḙasu (Buriti River)

krikrinékusu (said place)

TRADITION

The Nambikwara have a sharp sense of tradition. We have read above (p. 50) a remark of B1 which shows him to be sadly cognizant of the decline of his race. Customs and techniques are generally considered as legacies of the "ancestors": 173 [183 129]

58. irõnore ikãtage yíttige.
"The ancestors taught us how to coil it [the ribbon of rubber meant for making a ball]" (b1).

One single legend was found relating to the origin of the universe. [120] 773
It is that of the Flood, the childrens' version of which we have already 539
given. (1) Here is the text used by adults:

1. See above, p. 69.

59. narĩdine kũyũhire
narukãnihire naukauŕyaure
nahũtende kãng,rage naukãdo uŕŷere toãdige
the water had descended the water flooded everyone to die

773 déinhe naịkena kanauapéndige
539 only an old woman escaped one day (?)
nándige éịdende kéninde
to cry [she climbs on a buriti palm] buriti coco
iotúrige tanáamdage iáu iáu iáu
she throws [in the water] to wait to wait to wait [the water]
dehándige untahárige nihunĩndige tarahĩnarige uĩtte
to dry to sleep the morning to be born to deliver child
talĩttige tothándige ikãtoténdige ikã ióndige
to fall [from the stomach] to grow very quickly
to grow very quickly to grow
ndaụre tamĩndige bãdige útaụtu
[with its] mother to copulate two twins to be born
nĩndage eịntalĩkero
of the marriage [and] having fallen again
ịoni deịnhaịnenúnkero
of a man and woman married again
yétnarotunkero tátalĩkero nliin
of a child large again who falls again the brothers
kĩtunkero deịnla sĩna
to marry again another village
taminúkero bãkuenaa
[having made] having copulated again two twins
duenúkero délaụniŝĩkero aịninúnkero
again being born to make another village again to
inhabit again
yébeni núnakero bẽuininukero nlidnịa
to make children again two children to make again the brothers
tumuniúkero éịnikue tánimu tánimu
to marry again other men to beget to beget
déịndla sĩna iátore tamĩnĩaụre taminĩotige
another village to build to beget to beget
áịndige dụinúkero sịinúkero
to make love to have children again another village again
akuáindige akuákero deịdlaụni sĩnta
going away going away again in other villages
[121] keịkunúnkero hạtẽ nirịuandi´ aịtĩẽ hánunịatĩẽ
others still far away to inhabit (?) all distant very distant
nịántiadnoụi îúnalsddnịani nigehátiẽ
very distant to inhabit who do not know how to speak
others distant (?)

nágatatnjiáni ukihajonetátjena ukuajenthni
who do not know how to understand others who live so distant
[that it is necessary]
kanéngore kanéngore kanéngore
that a moon end that a moon end that a moon end
yatlĩtnijãni (bl)
in order that they arrive.

The whole story can be summed up as follows: alone of all the 773 humans, one old woman succeeded in escaping the Flood by hanging to the top of a buriti palm. By letting some nuts fall from the palm into the water, she was able to measure the decline of the water, and when the ground was dry, she came down and was delivered of a son. Through an incestuous union with her son, she then gave birth to twins of different sex, and from their incestuous union was born a new generation of twins. Thus, the whole of humanity would be descended from a series of marriages between twins, each giving birth to a new couple. As men multiplied, new villages were founded, always further away. So much so that today men live at such distances from one another that they do not speak the same language, do not understand one another, and must travel for whole months in order to visit.

This version offers several points in common with others collected in distant regions of South America. It is doubtless necessary to interpret the throwing of the palm nuts in the light of the "magical projection" 773 which has been studied above. (1) The throwing of small nuts certainly 171 possesses a magic significance. The same episode is found in several versions of the legend of the Flood, (2) and its magical value is formally attested for the Šipaia by Nimuendaju. (3) In older versions, the old woman (since

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1. Cf. p. 96.

2. Cf. for example the Tupi version collected by Thevet, cited by Métraux, loc. cit., p. 45.

3. To kill the sun by throwing upon it small nuts of the palm tree anaja, thus introducing night upon the earth ("Sagen der Tembe Indianer," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 47, 1915, p. 296).

In older versions, the old women (since
the old women share the magic powers of the men among the Nambikwara 773 171
as also in other tribes) (4) was undoubtedly not content with measuring the [789]

4. Cf. above, p. 101.

fall of water by the duration of the fall of her nuts, she actually provoked it
by throwing them. Whatever the case may be, "magical projection" is [531]
probably found at the origin of the theme of the throwing of small fruits or
grains in South American folklore.

[122] PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTITUDES

The Nambikwara offer the observer a very special psychological 157
and moral aspect, and one which we have not found again either among their immediate neighbors--Paresi, tribes of Guaporé, and Tupi of the Gi-Parana--or among other South American tribes. It is worth an attempt to separate its principal characteristics. Few of the primitive South Americans display so much spontaneity and freedom in their behavior. Few manifest such ease in psychological relationships, and such grace of expression. Thus, in their relationships with the ethnologist, the informants
introduce formulae which constitute true sociological inventions in order to 157
respond to a new situation, on the part of individuals who do not use either 571
a formula of greeting or of leave-taking in their own social relationships:

60. tai undejetnį? ta ejkiredni? ně jiren undétnjẽ
tatjene ně iritjani. (b1)
I am going to sleep, I am going away, you go to sleep,
I will stay, you go away.

Or to put an end to an interrogation of which they are weary:

61. iejtlana ammentį? hikwarigna iŕjena amdétnį?
kanahátag jodétnį?. (b1)
This is useless, it must be left; one does not see
clearly any more, this is useless, let us leave it;
tomorrow we will talk.

Or again:

62. nakanaį?njani aĥin nalirjani. (b1)
I have forgotten, wait till I remember.

Their daily life is full of exuberance. It is not only in the games 57
of ball that one hears joyous exclamations: 521

63. tenãkyẽ tenãkyẽ utanftiri (bl). 157
To me! To me! Throw! 521

However the artisan at work also makes his wife, child,neighbor participate in the execution of the work on whose vicissitudes he comments gaily:

64. itiogẽ taninjẽ digĩh... etni... kãtaha... munjaĩina...
kãtjanene... nooge... talunnkẽ... uthin... ishena...
mihigna. (bl)
Hold it [the cord] so that I can twist it... let it
go! It fell!... There!... It is difficult!.... It is
done!.... Does it suit you?.. It is ugly!... No, it
is pretty!

The last formula is ritual, it is the one they use at the end of chants and dances; the protagonists excuse themselves: "it is ugly"; and the audience responds: "No, it is pretty!" [illegible]

[123] This politeness is not always without malice, and compliments 157
sometimes hide attempts at mockery. We cited above the formula used by 521
a group to depreciate their dances in comparison to those of their companions 576
they have just met; (1) but a few hours earlier, disdaining a present of beads
which I offered and which were not much appreciated because of their color, they advised me:

65. mgetin majmarĩndé tumahĩnde (bl)
Keep them to give to the Maimandé.

One day we were sold poison tubes (by group a2) described as so 439
dangerous that we should abstain from ever opening them under pain of im- 791
mediate death. They proved to be empty, which testifies to great 157
ingenuity if the mystery was improvised on our account. In any case, it
throws a curious light on the relationships between neighboring groups.

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1. Cf. p. 98.

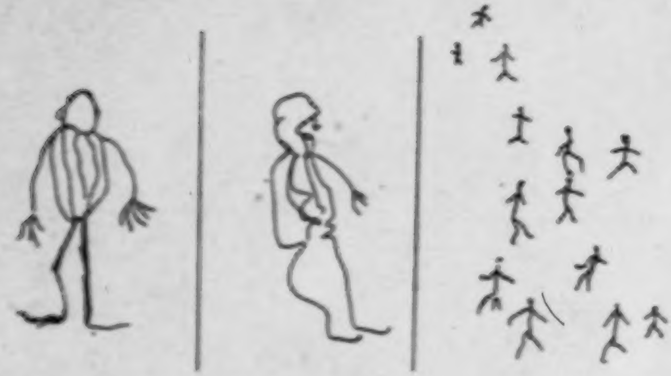

Fig. 19
Left: a man; center: a monkey; right: sketch made by A1 while explaining his genealogy (c. p. 40, fn. 1).

The fact is that purely comical and sometimes childish appearances [157]
sometimes cover attitudes which, without being contradictory to the pre- 797
ceding, are nevertheless very different. The history of the eastern group, in 177
the course of [124] these last years, is very significant in this regard. From 648
1909 to 1920, the installation of the telegraph line was marked by periodical conflicts alternating with cordial contacts, but in 1925, seven workers of the line were invited to visit (for the first time) the villages of the right bank of the Juruena River where we went later in 1938, and they disappeared there. From this time on, the contacts of the eastern group with the posts of the Rondon Line were interrupted, but in 1933 a Protestant mission was installed not far from the post on the Juruena. It seems that from the beginning relationships were quite strained, the Indians not being satisfied with the presents, very insufficient, they say, by which the missionaries paid for their help in the construction of the house and the planting of the garden. Whatever the case may have been, in 1933 a feverish Indian presented himself at the mission, and publicly received two capsules of "Cafiaspirin" which he took, after which he went to take a bath in the river, had a congestion and died. Through expert practitioners, the Nambikwara concluded that he

had been poisoned. An attack of reprisal was carefully prepared and took 177
place, in the course of which A1 and A5 distinguished themselves. The 648
six persons composing the mission were killed by beating or pierced with 797
arrows, including a baby of two. Only one woman was found alive by an [72]
expedition sent to aid them from Cuiabá. The version which she gave of the events coincides exactly with that which we collected from the main protagonists of the other camp.

Poison was still to play a role in the life of A6, and this during our 278
stay. We found ourselves visiting (August 1938) at the camp of a neighbor- 578
ing group (a2), and relationships became quickly strained between A6 and our hosts, undoubtedly over the question of women, so that he got the habit of coming to my camp to seek a more friendly atmosphere, at the same time that he shared my food. This fact was noticed, a delegation of four men came to find me one day, and in quite a menacing tone of voice told me to mix some poison (which they brought me along) in the next dish which I would offer to A6; they thought it advisable and indispensable to do away with him at once, for, they told me, he is "very wicked" (kakore) and "is worth nothing" (aldotiene). I had the greatest difficulty in getting rid of my visitors without opposing them with a refusal which in turn would have exposed me to animosity which I had just learned it was better to avoid, and I considered my best plan of action to exaggerate my ignorance of the language, and to feign obstinate lack of comprehension. After several attempts, my visitors retired very disappointed. I warned A6 who immediately disappeared. I was to see him again only four months later.

These incidents are characteristic of Nambikwara psychology. The 157
Nambikwara are very open, confident and spontaneous, but they are very 648
sensitive and react with great violence to deception [125] or disappointment. Few primitives are as easily accessible. Few give as free access to their intimate lives, to their beliefs, daily acts, thoughts and sentiments. But despite this facility and cordiality, the visitor, be he an ethnographer or a member of a neighboring tribe—must constantly be on guard and watch his actions; for the slightest imprudence, the least clumsiness, may incite reactions difficult to evaluate among his hosts, and in connection with which recent events are always present to recall that they may be extreme. A6 offered a perfect example of this confidence and spontaneity, allied with brusk manifestations of violence and irritability.

Thus, the Nambikwara character alternately presents two aspects, 157
or more exactly, testifies to a double nature: one which we shall call positive, and which goes much farther in this sense than among many Indians in contact for centuries with the whites; and the other, of metaphysical nature, whose rigor and exaltation at times evoke the mysticism of the North

American Indians. As example of the first aspect we shall mention: the 157
public and "scientific" preparation of the curare; the development of certain
therapeutics such as the treatment of ophthalmia by instillation; the
flexibility of the sexual division of labor; sexual life in general; the atmosphere
of the rites of abstinence; the rational attitude as regards alimentary
taboos. Several remarks on this point will make clear the indigenous
psychology. The white worms (anadu, a1) which are frequently found 157
in the nuts of the bacaiuva palm have been indicated as being inedible. Subsequently 262
we verified that they were eaten in secret by the children. Thus
a8 finds them while cracking nuts and gives them to her little sister a9;
and furtively she too eats a worm. Her action is noticed by a3 and a4 who
cover her with sarcasm. However one day when food is scarce, A1 eats a
plate of worms which his young wife a4 has gathered for him, and sadly remarks
that, due to lack of meat, he is reduced to this poor fare. The same
observation is made about the hawk. Above we showed what constitutes the
metaphysical basis of the alimentary taboo concerning the jaguar. However,
the current interpretation is entirely different:

66. ujatededuiʔ yiliʔe (b1).
I don't eat any of it, it smells bad!

In the face of new situations, the Indians generally react without 157
mysticism. Thus, A1 before the problem of writing; (1) on the other hand, 177
the Nambikwara show total indifference toward photography, even when they
have understood its purpose. We have never found [126] Indians who tolerated
the participation of the camera in the slightest details of their intimate life
with such complete indifference.

However, the passage to irrational positions is made with the same 157
brusqueness which characterizes the two attitudes, almost simultaneous, of
an infant hilarity before the still unusual sight of an inflated balloon which
burns, and of an appeal to evil magic when a second balloon succeeded in
rising. (1) Never does the tender indulgence with which the men surround 157 562
their companions (2) allow one to suspect the actual metaphysical curse
with which the women are burdened in the Nambikwara culture, excluded
under pain of death from collective ceremonies, deaf and blind to the voice

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1. P. 40 f. and p. 89.

1. P. 97.

2. P. 56 f.

of the Beyond, and condemned to nothingness after death like non-initiated 157
babies. We have described the tender companionship which presides in the 582
relationships between the sexes, and the general harmony which reigns within
the groups. But when these are altered, it is to give way to the most extreme solutions, poisoning and murder. It is quite reasonable for the informants to underline spontaneously the role of forgetfulness in funeral rites. (3).

3. P. 112.

For there is a striking contrast between the joyous irony with which one answers someone who is ignorant enough to inquire about a relative deceased for quite awhile: "lisfu, ligefu" (a1), "to the sand! in the sand!," and the horrible apparition of the atásu which is evoked with ritual sobbing.

Nambikwara rites do not seem to be symbolic in any way. The 776
skeleton-like state of A21 and a22 at the end of the period of abstinence 157
testifies to that, and although ceremonies are rare, they are carried far. 788
The informants speak of periods of three months for the isolation of the young girl entering puberty, and of a bath in the river lasting a whole night as a preliminary to marriage. However much behavior is supple and without complication in daily life, likewise intrusions of the supernatural (in visions and revelations, the séances of shamanism, war dances, etc.) are manifested by the transition to an atmosphere of tragedy. No South American group, to our knowledge, expresses in such a sincere and spontaneous way (for one never feels the theatrical atmosphere of Tupi or chaqueno shamanism) such violent and opposed sentiments, whose individual expression seems inseparable from a social stylization which never betrays them.

* * * * *

It is far from us to wish to assign an exclusively economic cause to 157
this dualism. Nevertheless, it is astonishing to consider that the psychological 182
dualism goes on an equal footing with the organization of social existence around [127] two opposite poles, on the one hand the sedentary life, agricultural, based on the dual masculine activity of the construction of huts and of gardening; on the other hand, the nomadic period, during which subsistence is principally assured by feminine collecting and gathering, the one representing alimentary security and well-being, the other chance and want. To these two ways of life, one followed in the winter, the other in the summer, the Nambikwara react in very different ways. They speak of the former with the melancholy which is attached to the conscious and resigned acceptance of the human condition, to the dull repetition of identical acts,

157
182

While they speak of the latter with the excitement, and the almost exalted tone, of discovery. Let us listen to an informant (B1) describe the double cycle of the year:

First the sedentary life:

67. nedɔntãtage kanaday hajndige gedɔntankero, yatlirikero 221
Tomorrow go hunting come back again 539
yakyinikerõ dankero undakero 157
cook again go to bed again sleep again 182
najngirikero ajrelokero ajkɔnkero
day again go to the field again cultivate the field again
ajngɔnkero damkɔro munãkero yinindakero
cultivate again leave again eat again
nangirikero danunkero tadrige tɨɲ tɨɲ tɨɲ
another day cut wood cut cut cut
telunakero [telɔndige] mbari mbari mbari
finish again wait wait wait
sorunkero jutnanatage [jutnakero] litnutjet
burn again the cold comes [still the cold] plants
denunkero yayharianunkero yaaninunkero
to go again looking for some return again
irakero kakyaidnatye [kajkyande] hikɔrage lukero
plant much dig again
ikɔranukatige litnurankero
in order to plant dig plants cut again
telɔndãnkero dejnterituapunkero ayrhajkero
finish again live a long time again pull up the roots
etuʔr etuʔr etuʔr hankero
grate grate grate finish again
nlakɔrahinkero nkyayrlakɔrahinkero alakero hinkero
gyatay hikɔnimuni (b1)
a new field again plant again

And now the great adventure of the nomadic period:

68. inkɔnahajre miryere irige
We leave at dawn; [the basket] is made it waits.
[128] ãgarage tyatarige tya tyikininkero irikero
one packs; one fills the basket in the woods one travels one travels
nahoreda õkero nlajdinkero ntorainkero ajnkero
one comes to the water one crosses the water one crosses on the way
ajnkero alorekidirekɔro aloraririkɔro
on the way! one takes the prairie one crosses the prairie

ajtuagiani'kəro (in) ĩĩrhun lomãni'nkəro ãjkəro 157 172
in the forest one travels again the hill one goes down travel 221 539
ãjkəro ãjkəro ajɨtigəmãni'nkəro mãgəlani'nkero
travel travel the hill one goes up the hill one crosses
kəlakɨlatini'nkəro erʔlorãni'nkəro ãjɨikəro
at the crest one travels one goes down another hill, more walking!
ĵikit(a)kittaʔnərige hajtlikəro ĵikitakãlikəro
In the wet sand travel in the wet sand travel
ĵejnlikəro herhanimi'nkəro nungeni'nkero
one passes the hut of other people traveling meets others
yelikaʔmunde ĵitili'tte (bI)
one is united with others here are the huts.

As is seen, the two forms of existence not are only very strikingly opposed from the economic and sociological point of view. They constitute two poles around which accumulate complex ensembles of emotions, sentiments and memories. With the same tenderness with which they 157/172 caress their wives, the men evoke the type of life defined by the temporary shelter and the eternal basket, where the most incongruous means of subsistence are sparingly scraped, gathered together, caught each day, where one lives cruelly exposed to wind, cold and rain, and which leaves no more lasting trace than the souls of the women, dispersed by the wind and storms, on whose activity it essentially reposes. And almost like the reign of need is opposed to that of liberty, they conceive in a completely different aspect the sedentary life (whose specific and ancient character is still borne witness to the original species which they cultivate), but upon which the unchangeable chain of agricultural operations confers the same character of perpetuity as the reincarnated masculine souls, the durable house of winter time, and the cultivable land which will begin to live and to produce "when the death of its preceding cultivator shall be forgotten." (1) We do not think it possible to draw conclusions, from a work

1. Cf. quotation, p. 112.

having to do exclusively with several sociological and psychological aspects of the life of the Nambikwara, relative to the place one should assign them in the ensemble of South-American cultures. However, the preceding information suffices to show under what form the problem is posed. We are in [129] the presence of a culture which shows linguistic affinities with the Ĵibaa, and which approaches the Tupi from the double point of view of family organization and religious beliefs, at the same time recalling

152

the Gé and the Botocudo in its material culture. (1) In other terms, it

101

1. We do not mention the Botocudo by chance. The term "Nambikwara" seems to be a surname of Tupi origin, with the sense of "large ears" (Nhambikwara). However, the Indians who use this name do not use the "bodoque" or any other ornament bringing on the same malformation. Yet it is possible that the name was originally applied to a tribe—or group of tribes—different from that which finally inherited it. In 1931, the telegraph post of Parecis, located 80 kilometers from Diamantino, was attacked and destroyed by some unknown Indians, who descended from an unexplored region somewhere between the Ariños River and the do Sangre River. Since that time, they have repeated their sorties at irregular intervals, so that it was necessary to change the trail going to Utiarity (on the Papagaio River)about 80 kilometers to the south of the telegraph line. The fires of Indian camps were clearly visible at the time of our passage to Parecis, in January 1939. Thanks to two severed heads, brought back a number of years ago by some garimpeiros (searchers of diamonds) who had a bone to pick with these Indians, it is known that the latter wear in the lobe of the ear and in the lower lip some large disks of light wood which recall those of the Suia and Botocudo. For this reason then, they are now called, by the diamond seekers and the gatherers of rubber of the region, by the name of Beiços de Pau, "Mouths of wood." The story is surprising, for people up to then were convinced that the Paressi had remained the sole occupants of these territories, and they themselves seemed completely ignorant of the presence of these dangerous neighbors. We have not found in literature any reference to the "Beiços de Pau" since the beginning of the 18th century; but at that time there is precise testimony: "Further on there is another tribe called Mahibarez... their language differs only slightly (from that of the Paressi), and they have ears with very long pierced lobes which in some of them hang to the shoulder, these being neighbors of the Paressi... and moreover they carry some short swords made from very strong wood... This people lives toward the northern part"

(Antonio Pires de Campos, "Breve noticia, etc.," Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. 25, 1862, p. 445). *Cf.* also C. Lévi-Strauss, "The name of the Nambikwara," American Anthropologist, Vol. 47, 1945. 101

is the problem of a syncretistic culture which one finds so frequently in South American ethnology. 157 152

When taken from the geographical point of view, the statement of the problem is easily reconstituted. One may ask one how best to interpret the presence of a nucleus of low cultures placed symmetrically, as regards the tributaries of the right bank of the Amazon, to that which occupied, and still occupies, eastern Brazil. Under the two wings of the "T" which sketches the distribution of far more evolved cultures of the Amazon valley, and the Madeira, with the long vertical zone which extends from the Xingu to the Tocantins, the low level *Gé* to the east, and the Nambikwara to the west, produce an equilibrium, like isolated islands. In the case of the Nambikwara, a supplementary problem is raised, that of the duality of their culture and their type of life. The latter can be explained either by taking as a basis the most elementary form of adaptation, and by assuming the borrowing of agricultural life from groups of a more evolved culture, or by leaving the higher form as an impoverishment determined by cultural isolation, or by the [130] suppression in particularly inhospitable regions which would have imposed secondary forms of adaptation. However, it is only by an appeal to all the available sources of information which should include, besides sociological studies, the study of the language and the material culture, and by comparison with the groups living in the same geographic atmosphere, that an attempt to interpret these problems can reasonably be undertaken. 121

TABLE OF CONTENTS

pro

PAGE

INTRODUCTION

History 1
The Country 3
Classification of Groups 7
The Type of Life 13

List of Phonological Symbols 17

PART I: FAMILY LIFE

Kinship System 17

Concrete Study of Groups

Eastern Group 36
Rules of Residence 46
Central and Southern Group 50
Western Group 53
Northern Group 53

Inter-individual Relationships:

Husbands and wives 54
Sexual Life 62
Parents and Children 66
The Grandparents 74
Collaterals and Relatives by Marriage 75
Notes on the Institution of "compaternity" 79

PART II: SOCIAL LIFE

Leadership 86
War and Commerce 90
Magic, Ritual and Religious Beliefs 95
Theory of Death 100

Communication with a Supernatural World:

Shamanism 101

From Birth to Death 106

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

General Psychology and Daily Life:

The Categories 113
The Numbers 115
The Colors 116
The Seasons and Days 117
Oral Traditions 119
Psychological Attitudes 122

Conclusion 126

[End Plate I]

137
133

211
142
482
415

484
482
415

1. Characteristic aspect of the savannah during the dry season. 2. A native garden in the middle of the gallery forest. 3. Travelling.

[End Plate II]

415
361
342
241

411
361
415
231

484
415
231

1-2. At the site of the semi-permanent village of group a1 (cf. p. 48). 3. Forced halt on the road by the same village (cf. p. 87 ff.).

[End Plate III]

231
302
301
142

301
304
302
142

1. Female type of group c (note the little monkey Cebus sp. on her head, cf. p. 73). 2. Male types of group a2.

[End Plate IV]

516
142
302
291
432
411
415

231
342
415
285

231
222
482
855

1. Return from the bath. 2. Native C11 leaving for a solitary hunting expedition. 3-4. Camp life (cf. p. 16). 5. Little girl looking for edible roots and carrying a little monkey (Lagothrix sp.) on her head. 6. The two little girls a8 and a9 (cf. p. 42).

[End Plate V]

291
142
302

[301
482
231]

[515
607
301]

[526
832]

1. The little girl b5 and her dog (cf. p. 70). 2. Three sisters-in-law delousing each other (cf. p. 75). 3-4. Erotic games (A1 and a4) are hard to distinguish from contests of friendly scuffling where children add themselves willingly to the secondary wives and their husband (cf. pp. 62 and 69).

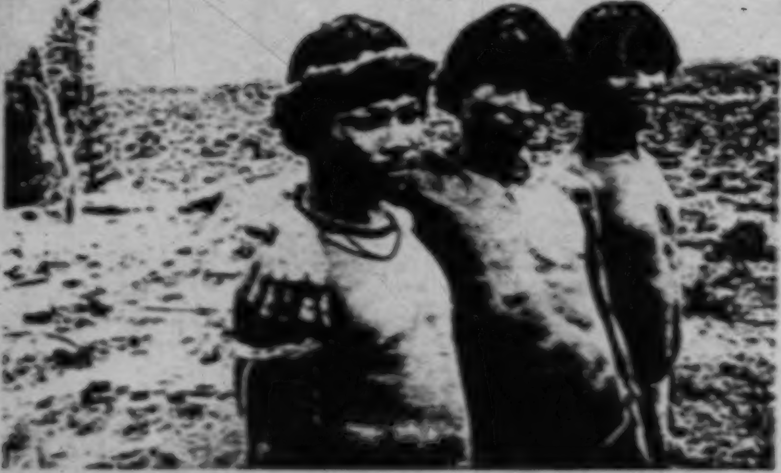
V

1:Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate VI]

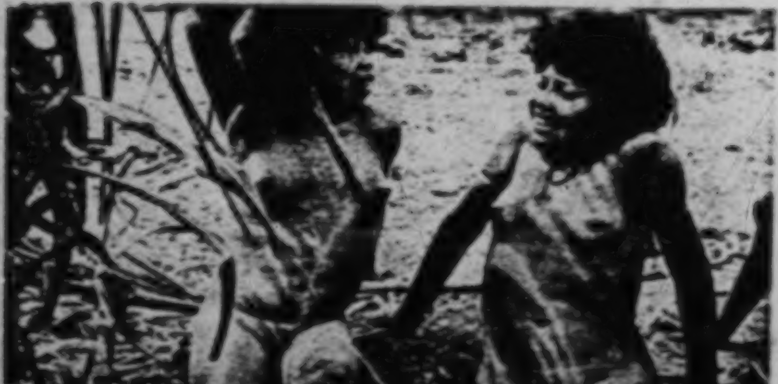
291
302
301
516

[607]



Brothers-in-law (*cf.* p. 76); in the foreground, B1.

[595]



The two wives of C20 (c19 and c21) engaged in a pleasant conversation.

[End Plate VII]

517
516
855
142
302
301

Family life: The woman a22 and her baby a23 in a state of ease (cf. p. 100 ff.).

756
593
301
142

The shaman of group c (C20) plays with one of his two wives (c21).

1: Lévi-Strauss
124

SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[For information pertaining to field methods of collecting information, see also category 115.]

1: Lévi-Strauss 608

SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[For information on compérage, which is also a type of artificial kin relationship including siblings-in-law, see category 607.]